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The American Asiatic Association

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ON the 19th of March last President Wilson placed himself on record as being opposed to any renewal of the request of the last administration that the American group of bankers should join with the other International groups in lending money to the Chinese Government. At the same time he said that the Government of the United States was earnestly desirous of promoting the most extended and intimate trade relationship between this country and the Chinese Republic. He added that the present Administration would urge and support the legislative measures necessary to give American merchants, manufacturers, contractors, and engineers, the banking and other facilities which they now lack, and without which they are at a serious disadvantage as compared with their industrial and commercial rivals. Inquiries were made in Washington to discover if possible, how far the Administration was prepared to give its backing to American enterprise in serious co-operation with the Chinese people in the development of the unrivalled resources of their country, in which the President has expressed his belief that the American people desired a very generous participation. The prospect of a favorable response seemed the more hopeful, inasmuch as it was part of the White House statement of March 19, that "the Government of the United States is not only willing but earnestly desirous, of aiding the great Chinese people in every way that is consistent with their untrammelled development and its own immemorial principles."

As a result of these inquiries, it was found that the action of the Administration had been based on a precedent established when the American-China Development Company had asked the State Department to "note" its contract for the building of the Hankow-Canton Railway as a binding engagement upon the Chinese Government. The ground for refusing this request was, briefly, that while the Government of the United States was always ready to enforce the just rights of its citizens abroad, it had always declined to be the guarantor of their contracts with Foreign Governments. But it appeared from the action of the Administration in regard to the finances of Nicaragua, and their expressed readiness to help a satisfactory government in Mexico to raise a foreign loan, that the President and Secretary of State were disposed to give a fairly liberal construction to the amount of support which this government might lend to the enterprise of their citizens in foreign countries. Hence, it was stated

in these columns, last November, that the prospect was not at all hopeless that some working formula might be reached calculated to give a new impetus to American enterprise in China, and to enable American bankers to enter with confidence into the competition for industrial loans, if not also to bid for a share in future lendings to the Chinese government for purposes of currency reform and administrative re-organization.

Hence, when it came to be a question of selecting a guest of honor for the Annual Dinner of the Association, it was thought well to invite the Secretary of State, in the hope that he might make plain some aspects of the question that were not thoroughly understood. In waiting on the Secretary of State in Washington, the President and Secretary of the Association tried to impress on him that for the furtherance of the financial and commercial interests of the United States in China, it was highly desirable that some efforts should be made to counteract the depressing influence of President Wilson's declaration of last March. They intimated their belief that a broader meaning had been read into this declaration than its terms warranted, and that its depressing effect had been accentuated by the assumption that it meant a great deal more than was really intended. It was hoped that Secretary Bryan would give official sanction to this opinion, and that the occasion might be utilized for making a comprehensive and reassuring statement in regard to the general policy of the Administration toward the International problems of Eastern Asia.

How far this expectation has been justified, may be a matter of opinion. But, in reading the very guarded remarks of the Secretary of State in regard to the point in controversy, it is well to remember that he was supplied in advance with the address delivered at the dinner by President Straight, which will be admitted to be a sufficiently unequivocal statement of the needs of American trade in the Far East. The kernel of the case as presented by Mr. Straight will be found in the following sentences: "We cannot hope to share in railway construction in China; we cannot hope that our manufacturers may install government arsenals, electric light works, water works and other public utilities, or that our engineers can contract for harbor works and conservancy schemes, until American bankers can be found willing to purchase the bonds that China must issue to secure funds to finance these operations. Reputable American bankers cannot afford to purchase Chinese bonds unless their ability to sell them is reasonably certain, and the American investor is not willing to buy Chinese bonds unless he believes that the American Government will protect him by all possible diplomatic means in case the Chinese Government, through difficulties of its own, should fail for a time to meet its obligations—obligations not to the bankers who underwrite a bond issue, but to the investors who depend for their incomes upon the regular returns from these securities."

With this and a good deal more to the same effect before him, the Secretary of State takes no exception to Mr. Straight's view of the financial aspects of our relations with China; in fact, he regards the emphasizing of these as "both natural and proper." Neither does he underestimate the importance of such trade relations as are present to the minds of Americans in China and he commends Mr. Straight's words to those whose attention has been or will be turned to the subject. In short, the Secretary of State shows a certain openness of mind in regard to a question of acknowledged delicacy and difficulty, and, without at all intimating whether too much was made of the White House statement of last March, he clearly intimates it to be the policy of the Administration that the interests of the American citizen will be amply protected wherever he goes. In saying this, the Secretary remarked that he was merely repeating what the President himself had said, and he insisted that it could not be said any stronger. He merely added the caution that while American interests would be protected everywhere, Americans going abroad could not do a better thing for the benefit of American trade than to carry with them the high ideals that obtain in that trade at home. Briefly, Secretary Bryan's address will be found to be an open invitation to those interested in promoting American enterprise in China, frankly to invite the countenance and support of their government for all legitimate effort to bring about in the President's own words "the most extended and intimate trade relationship between this country and the Chinese Republic."

The Hon. William Calhoun, with characteristic lucidity and force, showed in his speech, of which a full report will be found elsewhere, the conditions under which our financial and commercial enterprise can make headway in China. Here, as Mr. Calhoun points out, are a people who in all the affairs that belong to their old life are very efficient but when it comes to newer affairs, they do not have the experience, the education or training to make them efficient. Therefore they do not command credit to the extent that more advanced nations do. In addition, they have no well defined laws, no courts above the dignity of a police magistrate, and the foreigner who invests money in China has no protection, except the diplomatic support of his Government. Mr. Calhoun energetically disclaimed the idea that Governments should guarantee contracts, or become a mere collecting agency, but their nationals who seek to establish trade relations with backward countries must, he insisted, have some support. There will be general agreement in Mr. Calhoun's conclusions that the real theory is that bankers, merchants, governments, and all nations should co-operate and work together; that it is impossible for us to wrap the mantle of exclusion around us and refuse to take our share in the responsibilities and privileges of the world, and that while keeping true to the ideals of which they have never lost sight, Americans should participate to the full in the world-wide competition for trade which is nowhere more intense than it is today in China.

Exports of Domestic Cotton Cloths, Mineral Oils, and Wheat Flour from the United States to China and Hongkong, during the eleven months, ending Nov. 30, 1912 and 1913.

EXPORTS TO CHINA.

Months. 1912	Cotton Cloths. Yards.		Mineral Oils (Illuminating). Gallons.		Wheat Flour. Barrels.	
January.....	4,495,875	\$307,086	5,131,900	\$373,671	69,413	\$267,876
February.....	12,794,458	851,566	.....	.....	179,820	697,139
March.....	8,654,853	525,061	1,928,030	146,341	152,666	614,302
April.....	11,730,726	752,094	1,000,000	74,000	35,925	138,777
May.....	5,168,266	332,613	10,782,250	737,643	29,850	117,542
June.....	6,175,605	400,681	8,054,955	546,361	9,108	36,340
July.....	4,799,499	336,243	12,056,220	820,225	925	4,100
August.....	3,312,466	224,349	5,113,180	442,771	2,538	10,212
September.....	1,526,010	108,041	5,166,614	317,579	12	54
October.....	2,503,112	184,290	.....	.....	262	1,071
November.....	4,465,586	312,753	4,610,300	267,220	1,626	6,591
Total.....	65,626,456	\$4,334,777	53,843,449	\$3,725,811	482,145	\$1,894,004

1913.						
January.....	7,096,890	\$481,040	2,988,096	\$134,464	11,264	\$44,611
February.....	7,005,113	489,324	3,385,530	293,367	35,988	139,183
March.....	8,576,182	561,677	7,817,080	442,421	47,313	178,385
April.....	10,679,063	743,675	7,110,600	642,584	19,450	76,933
May.....	14,491,282	1,022,309	13,645,100	955,947	240	971
June.....	11,866,362	835,725	13,914,180	1,178,370	100	400
July.....	13,861,576	947,287	7,367,800	400,559	8	48
August.....	5,839,825	398,458	2,029,963	101,498	3,128	12,545
September.....	12,196,195	815,514	7,188,242	388,354	13,763	53,191
October.....	8,478,971	606,864	5,586,934	403,697	36,881	150,509
November.....	6,030,732	414,584	11,169,900	763,814	22,163	80,728
Total.....	106,052,191	\$7,316,517	82,203,425	\$5,705,075	190,298	\$737,504

EXPORTS TO HONGKONG.

1912						
January.....	57,814	\$7,253	.....	.....	94,456	\$380,186
February.....	110,352	15,039	1,263,540	\$92,833	106,985	410,863
March.....	5,131	1,127	1,636,000	67,076	148,716	561,253
April.....	185,580	27,022	.....	.....	85,420	343,600
May.....	85,993	12,953	500,000	44,175	80,569	326,750
June.....	156,283	23,451	1,854,000	160,065	113,108	451,152
July.....	80,692	12,925	.....	.....	30,251	119,775
August.....	127,383	18,933	.....	.....	41,050	163,316
September.....	24,788	3,545	280	29	196,306	767,579
October.....	189,241	27,511	.....	..	218,412	864,514
November.....	60,138	9,400	600,000	52,325	101,682	401,414
Total.....	1,083,345	\$159,159	5,853,820	\$416,503	1,216,955	\$4,790,402

1913						
January.....	636,832	\$43,454	1,425,810	\$151,888	60,862	\$228,941
February.....	163,478	25,420	.....	.....	102,121	410,463
March.....	196,668	29,815	.....	.....	129,461	492,019
April.....	211,034	33,938	1,195,000	117,707	120,249	478,075
May.....	161,310	26,267	2,311,000	212,612	160,755	642,322
June.....	109,841	17,046	2,235,000	205,620	76,636	308,268
July.....	101,998	16,568	3,659,160	258,103	143,689	572,237
August.....	155,718	20,489	.....	.....	49,897	202,200
September.....	109,192	16,476	487,143	45,342	27,423	105,366
October.....	132,835	20,351	2,755,658	161,053	157,358	617,471
November.....	47,646	6,924	950,000	89,300	174,918	699,052
Total.....	2,026,552	\$256,748	15,018,771	\$1,241,625	1,203,369	\$4,756,423

Imports of Tea and Silk into the United States for the eleven months, ending November 30, 1911, 1912 and 1913.

Imported from	1911.		TEA.		1912.		1913.	
	Pounds.	Dollars.	Pounds.	Dollars.	Pounds.	Dollars.	Pounds.	Dollars.
United Kingdom.....	11,336,011	3,039,576	9,882,507	2,952,473	11,934,582	3,448,909		
Canada	2,675,579	694,160	2,599,980	753,433	2,734,830	796,167		
China.....	15,092,897	1,761,208	24,585,670	3,398,712	17,393,060	2,394,109		
East Indies.....	10,510,344	1,758,815	11,933,123	1,960,390	8,539,713	1,433,869		
Japan.....	49,463,661	8,664,277	41,028,247	7,360,805	39,498,311	6,764,582		
Other countries	1,035,628	175,990	852,664	166,066	865,662	167,804		
Total	90,114,120	16,094,026	90,882,191	16,590,878	80,966,158	15,005,440		
RAW, OR AS REELED FROM THE COCOON.								
Imported from			SILK.					
	Pounds.	Dollars.	Pounds.	Dollars.	Pounds.	Dollars.	Pounds.	Dollars.
France.....	201,623	695,707	84,853	298,157	71,947	187,058		
Italy.....	1,782,265	6,851,379	2,313,852	8,441,687	2,250,059	8,815,796		
China.....	4,630,833	11,309,603	4,475,601	10,968,446	5,537,552	13,886,714		
Japan.....	12,179,884	41,361,754	15,158,833	49,140,840	16,700,108	54,713,465		
Other countries	189,313	686,400	145,437	476,877	275,321	999,222		
Total	18,983,918	60,904,843	22,178,576	69,326,007	24,834,987	78,602,255		

THE ASIATIC INSTITUTE

The Asiatic Institute organized last year, is now in a position to invite the co-operation of its clientele. Its work is under way, and its membership list will be opened shortly. The special publications of the Institute will be commenced this month.

An immense field lies open for the Asiatic Institute, with work vital to all countries of the Pacific, and to civilization generally. With this work come problems which only those of both civilizations, and those who understand, can solve. The final meeting of the two civilizations in the Pacific, developed by the perfecting of communications and the bringing of Asiatic nations to the world level, raises questions hitherto unknown to mankind.

One leading question is that of the sectional differences and conflicts of opinion in our own country as to Asiatics; another, our insular possessions; still another, foreign trade and government encouragement of it, together with help for sea communications to put us in touch with peoples, possessions, and world-wide benefits. The revolutionary condition of our relations with Eastern Asia, and the internal revolutionary conditions there, press upon us the necessity of bringing order and understanding to our own minds. The crumbling of ideas respecting Asia that has begun—due to the rapid rise of Pacific affairs—involves all the ins and outs of readjustment. Because of their infirm adjustment, and in spite of all benevolent and uplift work, the evils of the two civilizations are working against the interests of both. The Asiatic Institute is a student of these conditions and of all utilitarian and ethical effort dealing with them. Its aims oblige it to keep abreast of them.

The methods of the Asiatic Institute are of a character similar to those of other educational organizations. It will keep in local touch with its various fields. Frederick McCormick, Secretary of the Institute, spent half the year just ended in the field in California, Hawaii, Japan (and Korea), and China, following up his wider preliminary surveys for it made 1911-1912. In his report Mr. McCormick finds that the organizing of the Institute has aroused wide interest and wide curiosity. The foreign and native press of Asia has published extensive accounts of it pointing out the new and absorbing tasks provided for the organization by the nature of the field and its peculiarity to the organization, as well as by the disassociated, unrelated work of Americans and others of the Pacific Basin hitherto; and the necessity of such an organization and clearinghouse as the Institute. In addition to

the press, the wide clientele to which the Institute has appealed confirms the wisdom of the organization. Judging by the large number of thinkers in Eastern Asia alone, working with knowledge and sincerity on the ever-increasing questions of the Pacific, the usefulness of the Institute is established.

On account, too, of the importance of the Asiatic question in the South Pacific Ocean, as well as kindred reasons, the Institute has excited interest in Australia and New Zealand, where, also, the press has published extensive comments and discussions. Leading men there have placed themselves in communication with the organization. The co-operation of officials, educators, men of letters, and students of both civilizations generally, in the aims of the Institute, has been secured.

During his trip, Mr. McCormick acquired numerous materials for carrying forward the work of the Institute in the United States. In Peking President Yuan Shih-k'ai sent him the large Chinese Republic flag, and the United States flag, used on the occasion of the official recognition of the Chinese Republic by the United States Government. President Yuan Shih-k'ai also sent a signed portrait of himself taken on that occasion.

William Woodville Rockhill, our foremost Asiatic scholar, now engaged on a mission to the Asiatic field, is further extending the work of the Institute. Mr. Rockhill, accompanied by his wife, has traversed central Asia and has reached Outer Mongolia. In his latest letter, written from Verkne Udinsk, he writes of his trip to Urga, and says:

"We got back here day before yesterday (January 4, 1914) . . . I have had various excellent opportunities of studying the Mongolian question. . . . We leave this morning for Harbin where I expect to remain a few days. We have been nearly exactly a month on this Mongol trip and it was worth the trouble and excessive rough travel we had to go through. The thermometer has never risen above -15° Fahrenheit and frequently been at -30°, and -69°! Traveling in a *tarantass* and sleeping in smoky Mongol *yurts* at such a temperature—if it merits the name—is no fun, but my wife bore it cheerfully, though she says she would not do it again for the whole of Mongolia—and she's right."

This letter forcibly expresses the interest in the Asiatic Institute and the quality of enthusiasm which its men are bringing into its work.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL DINNER OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Fifteenth Annual Dinner of the Association was given at Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, New York, on Monday, January 26th, at 7 P.M.

The Honorable The Secretary of State was the guest of honor of the occasion.

The Chair was occupied by Mr. Willard Straight, President of the Association.

At the Speakers' table were seated the following:

Pres. Willard Straight,
Hon. The Secretary of State,
Chinese Chargé d'Affaires Yung Kwei,
Hon. Seth Low,
Hon. William J. Calhoun,
Professor M. Anesaki,
Captain Gleaves,
Major-Gen. T. H. Barry,
Consul-Gen. of China Y. Y. Yung,
Consul-Gen. of Japan K. Iijima,
William A. Marble,
Hon. Lloyd C. Griscom,
Hon. Fleming D. Cheshire,
Rev. G. A. Johnston Ross,
S. D. Webb,
W. P. Wilson,
Dr. T. Iyiyaga,
Captain Woodward.

The occupants of the other tables were as follows:

TABLE A.

George Dodwell,
Paul L. Phelan,
Oliver C. Macy,
T. Ridgway Macy,
Irving K. Hall,
Alfred C. Phelan,
Thomas A. Phelan,
Henry A. Haines.

TABLE B.

Waldo H. Marshall,
Charles M. Muchnic,
W. E. Ogilvie,
T. Chang Kwan,
Carl S. Wagner,
Konoluke Seko,
Dr. J. Takamine.

TABLE C.

Eugene P. Thomas,
James A. Farrell,
J. Robertson Dunn,
John Hughes,
Harold L. Hughes,
Henry L. Jones,
Arthur R. Lewis,
August F. Mack.

TABLE D.

Frank Adams,
Willeby T. Corbett,
John J. Farrell,
Carroll O. Holmes,
John H. McAlarney,
Thomas N. Molanphy,
Joseph B. Murray,
William H. Stratton.

TABLE E.

T. Ashley Sparks,
R. H. Blake,
L. R. Williams,
R. H. Goodwin,
W. J. Sparks,
W. A. Burns,
P. H. Bailey.

TABLE F.

Harris R. Childs,
Lewis Cruger Hasell,
S. D. Brewster,
J. Harper Poor,
Eustis L. Hopkins,
Albert Cordes,
John Foord.

TABLE G.

James Donald,
W. E. Bemis,
H. L. Pratt,
R. C. Veit,
C. F. Meyer,
W. R. King,
H. A. McGee,
C. M. Higgins,
F. T. Gause,
C. E. Stubbe.

TABLE H.

George F. Baker, Jr.
F. H. McKnight,
Frederick R. Swift,
George Marvin,
Philip Patchin,
Charles H. Strong,
F. A. Carl,
Jerome D. Greene.

TABLE J.

Samuel McRoberts,
Hon. Herbert Parsons,
Martin Egan,
Hon. William Phillips,
Hon. John Gardner Coolidge,
J. K. Ohl,
Paul M. Warburg,
Frederick McCormick,
Ogden Reid.

TABLE K.

Robert Christie,
George M. Dunlop,
G. Franklin Fisher,
S. C. Mead,
Herbert St. J. Webb,
J. Osgood Carleton,
Howard Ayres,
Herbert M. Lloyd,
Charles N. Ashley,
Leonard S. Webb.

TABLE L.

D. R. Aldridge,
George L. Hooley,
Allan Macfarlan,
J. D. Dunlop,
Thomas N. Myrick,
William E. Peck,
T. J. Ryan,
William Baxter.

TABLE M.

J. S. Alexander,
James Brown,
William T. Taylor,
S. L. Selden,
Bryce Metcalf,
C. D. Palmer,
Gen. T. H. Hubbard,
H. T. S. Green.

TABLE N.

Francis H. Page,
Frederick E. Haight,
Charles Triller,
Murray W. Ferris,
James A. Smith,
Donald L. Lee,
George Quackenbush,
C. M. Brooks,
Percy S. Mallett,
S. E. Buchanan.

TABLE O.

John Bottomley,
G. A. Harris,
K. Mikami,
H. Tsutsumi,
W. M. Cosgrove,
Fred Meyers,
William Hicks,
Edward L. Young.

TABLE P.

William H. Stevens,
James R. Morse,
Stephen Baker,
Bartlett G. Yung,
J. B. Martindale,
Howard C. Smith,
Lewis L. Clarke,
Thomas A. Eddy,
F. I. Blake,
P. H. Jennings,
E. M. Sutliff,
A. G. Mills.

TABLE Q.

Alexander M. Stewart,
Richard A. Strong,
F. K. Rupprecht,
Edward Lovering,
Benjamin D. Riegel,
John R. DeWitt,
Edward W. Sparks,
E. P. Cronkhite.

TABLE R.

William G. Broadway,
Edward P. Lea,
Stanley M. Howe,
Minton Cronkhite,
Fisher Howe,
Major John D. Kilpatrick,
R. A. Watson.

TABLE S.

J. W. T. Nichols,
Albert Straus,
George Nichols,
Henry A. Stickney,
Douglas C. Despard,
William D. Sawyer,
M. E. Ingalls, Jr.
Thomas W. Slocum.

TABLE T.

Richard E. Forrest,
David Dows,
Hunter Marston,
P. K. Condict,
Gerard Swope,
Alba B. Johnson,
Charles H. Sherrill,
J. Rosenfeld,
E. H. Erlanger.

TABLE U.

Harold C. Whitman,
Walter M. Mote,
W. H. Robinson,
William S. Brown,
Louis L. Seaman,
Herbert Appleton,
Douglas F. Cox,
John C. Ferguson.

TABLE V.

Arthur O. Probst,
James C. Hoe,
Saul F. Dribben,
C. M. Guggenheimer,
Frank Skidmore,
William T. Westcote,
Milton G. Psaki,
Edward Tomes,
F. W. Walker.

TABLE W.

E. P. Smith,
J. W. Dorsey,
Mr. Smith's Guest.
Arnold Kahl,
T. Ellett Hodgskin,
Rudolph Scherer,
George Gray Ward,
George Clapperton,
Charles A. Conant.

TABLE X.

Prof. J. W. Jenks,
Clayton Rockhill,
Gilbert Colgate,
Eugene C. Worden,
G. Vintschger,
Henry Towne,
Harold A. Hatch,
Robert Mains,
L. S. Palen,
E. G. Adams.

TABLE Y.

R. E. Saunders,
William H. Smith.
F. W. Lotz,
Otto H. Hinck,
Adolph E. Norden,
George H. Hutzler,
George H. Eypper,
Capt. S. M. Milliken,
J. H. Baker, Jr.
A. W. Fiedler.

TABLE Z.

G. G. Allen,
N. H. Busey, Jr.
J. H. Ruffin,
Mr. Allen's Guest,
Thomas T. Read,
Joseph T. Lilly,
John B. O'Reilly,
H. B. West.

TABLE AA.

William Boyd,
William H. Tweddell,
A. B. Pouch,
W. H. Pouch,
F. C. Schultze,
W. J. Marsden,
C. Howard Metz,
Spencer Turner.

TABLE BB.

George H. Sampson,
James O. Winston,
Jules Breuchaud,
Charles H. Locher,
C. A. Green,
W. E. Winchester,
F. L. Keen,
Patrick Gallagher.

MENU

CHASLIS	Cotuit Oysters Mignonette
	SOUP
SHERRY, PEMARTIN	Clear Green Turtle
	SIDE DISHES
	Celery Salted Nuts Olives
	FISH
	Fillets of Sole, Narragansett
	Potatoes persillade Parisienne
	REMOVE
CHAMPAGNE, MUMM'S SELECTED BRÛT 1900	Saddle of Canada Mutton
	Brussels Sprouts with Chestnuts
	ENTRÉE
	Asparagus Hollandaise Sauce
	Maraschino Sherbet
	ROAST
	Breast of Guinea Hen in Casserole
CHÂTEAU PERSANSON	with Bread Sauce
	Chiffonade Salad
	DESSERT
	Biscuit Orientale
APOLLINARIS	Fancy Cakes
LIQUEURS	Coffee
	Monday, January 26th, 1914
	DELMONICO'S

Letters of regret were received from:

His Excellency Viscount Chinda, Ambassador of Japan
The Siamese Minister
The Governor of the State of New York
The Mayor of the City of New York
Senator A. O. Bacon, of Georgia
Representative Henry D. Flood, of Virginia
Hon. W. Cameron Forbes
Hon. David Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port.

The order of speaking was as follows:

The Divine blessing was invoked by the Rev. G. A. Johnston Ross.

In the course of the Dinner, toasts were proposed and drunk to the health of:

The President of the United States
His Imperial Highness the Emperor of Japan
The President of the Republic of China.

THE ORDER OF SPEAKING.

Speech of MR. WILLARD STRAIGHT, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Secretary, M. le Chargé and Gentlemen, on behalf of the American-Asiatic Association, I bid you welcome.

To you, Dr. Anesaki, and to your fellow countrymen, on behalf of this Association, I wish to extend the heartfelt sympathy we feel for you in the face of the great disaster that has befallen your countrymen, and to assure you that we share your grief at the terrible losses you have sustained.

We are gathered here to-night, gentlemen, to do you honor. We hope you will honor us with your confidence, and frankly discuss some at least of those qualities which are of mutual interest, as well as the problems whose successful solution must depend very largely upon our common understanding and our continued co-operation.

No dinner of this Association has ever been held, I imagine, without some reference to William A. Seward's prophetic words regarding our future on the Pacific. The Pacific Era which he foresaw is no longer a dream; this day has dawned; it extends its promise and imposes its responsibilities, and this annual dinner of the American-Asiatic Association is therefore more significant perhaps than any that has preceded it.

Within a few months, the Panama Canal will be opened, a great highway for the trade of the world. (Applause.) Has it occurred to you that we in the United States while conscious certainly of the magnitude of the task now nearing completion, may have failed to grasp the full import of its influence on the development of international commerce, and have perhaps neglected the very necessary preparations for realizing opportunities which we have created and which our foreign friends have for some years eagerly anticipated.

The past year, moreover, has witnessed one of the most remarkable achievements in our political history. President Wilson, unmoved by criticism and undeterred by opposition, between March and December, has secured the passage, first, of the Tariff, and second, of the Currency Bill. Whether or not we be entirely in sympathy with the measures now enacted makes little difference; we cannot, no matter what our political creed, withhold an admiration bordering almost upon wonder for the force and singleness of purpose of our Chief Executive, who, with the loyal and active assistance of the Premier of his Cabinet, has wrought a legislative miracle by so nearly squaring promise and performance. (Loud Applause.)

The opening of the Panama Canal, by removing geographical barriers, must stimulate foreign commerce. The Currency Bill just passed permits the establishment of branches of American banking institutions abroad, and should free vast sums for use in an international discount market and for the purchase of desirable foreign securities. Thus, with added transportation facilities and with opportunity for the extension of both banking and investment, we are in a better position than at any time in our history aggressively to undertake the development of our export trade. (Cheers.)

Not only this, but the Tariff Bill, facilitating as it does the importation of foreign goods, imposes upon our manufacturers the necessity of carrying the war into the enemies' camp and competing abroad with those who will now invade our own market. (Applause.) The era of discovery, the era of conquest, are past. The world's boundary disputes are rapidly being settled. Opportunities for national as well as individual exploitation are everywhere curtailed, and nations like individuals must earn their living. The era upon which we are entering is not only that of the Pacific Ocean, it must be one of Pacific development as well. The barriers of industrial exclusiveness are fast disappearing. World-peace, of which our honored guest is such an active and sincere advocate, is becoming a practical as well as a highly desirable pos-

sibility. It is as essential to the development of international trade as internal tranquility is to national progress. It is doubtless true that we may not for many years to come be able to substitute the reaping hook for the sabre and the sewing machine for the gatling gun, but, some recent events to the contrary notwithstanding, it is impossible to deny that the armies of to-day are becoming factors for peace, great police forces, imposing perhaps a heavy financial burden upon the peoples which support them, but at the same time guaranteeing them against aggression, and bringing to them through compulsory military service a conception of discipline and a feeling of nationalism which would otherwise be unobtainable.

The true armies of world-peace to-day, however, are the merchants engaged in international trade. (Applause.) In this army, the Secretary of State is a Chief of Staff, and the Ambassador a Corps Commander. (Applause.) We of this Association are the rank and file. We are always in active service in the world-wide struggle for daily bread. We are constantly fighting our business war, and we are the points of contact with the real living organisms of foreign peoples. Religion has inspired great world movements; education has brought mutual understanding to different peoples. I do not wish to appear even to minimize their value or to belittle their influence both past and present; but international harmony, like connubial bliss, depends not only upon reciprocal appreciation of high principles and recognition of common ideals, but upon the satisfactory solution and adjustment of the problems of every day life. In the family, it is the little things that count, and between nations mutual confidence and esteem is founded most permanently and truly upon fair and mutually profitable diplomatic and business dealings. The greater our foreign commerce, the better will be our relations with foreign peoples and the less chance there will be for trouble. (Applause.)

At a time when China's negotiations with foreign financiers were much in the public eye, I noticed reference to a newspaper headline entitled, "Ship pursued through Indian Ocean by Chinese Ghost." The editorial comment was that, "the Ghost probably wanted a loan." (Laughter.) I have no desire to call forth spirits of any kind; least of all the Ghost of a Chinese Loan. The withdrawal of the American Banking Group from China is a closed incident, but the question of our diminishing China trade is to the members of this Association a very pressing one and of the most vital importance. This is the ghost that bothers us; it is, if I may say so, the skeleton not in our closet but in our counting house. (Applause.) I cannot refrain, therefore, from stating that many merchants, members of the American Asiatic Association, while not directly affected by the withdrawal of the American Banking Group, have interpreted the announcement made by President Wilson in March last to mean that the American Government would not extend to our bankers the support which those familiar with trade conditions in China consider necessary. They are to-day frankly discouraged at our prospects for future

business, for in China, more than in almost any other country perhaps, trade follows the loan.

I personally feel assured that this impression referred to is not justified, for President Wilson even in the announcement mentioned specifically expressed his determination to aid the extension of our American trade abroad. He said:

"The present administration will urge and support the legislative measures necessary to give American merchants, manufacturers, contractors and engineers the banking and other financial facilities which they now lack and without which they are at a serious disadvantage as compared with their industrial and commercial rivals. This is its duty; this is the main material interest of its citizens in the development of China. Our interests are those of the Open Door—a door of friendship and mutual advantage. This is the only door we care to enter." (Applause.)

China's growing foreign trade promises great returns to those engaged therein. To secure our share, we must depend primarily upon the energy and far sightedness of American merchants and manufacturers, but if they are to take full advantage of these opportunities, they must, as President Wilson has said, be assured adequate banking and other financial facilities. Our merchants now secure the necessary accommodation chiefly through British, Japanese and German banks, as well as the one American bank in the East. The service rendered by these institutions is adequate perhaps for present needs. We cannot rely, however, upon these very good foreign friends of our to push American interests as they do their own. This certainly is not as it should be. Moreover, while our ordinary merchandising may be financed to a greater or less extent by foreign bankers, there is absolutely no chance for American manufacturers to sell their goods to railway or other government or industrial undertakings, which are constructed or operated with foreign money. This after all is but natural. China herself is not in a position to build railroads or herself to finance public improvements. She must secure money from abroad. We cannot hope, therefore, to share in railway construction in China; we cannot hope that our manufacturers may install government arsenals, electric light works, water works and other public utilities, or that our engineers can contract for harbor works and conservancy schemes, until American bankers can be found willing to purchase the bonds that China must issue to secure funds to finance these operations. Reputable American bankers cannot afford to purchase Chinese bonds unless their ability to sell them is reasonably certain, and the American investor is not willing to buy Chinese bonds unless he believes that the American government will protect him by all possible diplomatic means in case the Chinese Government, through difficulties of its own should fail for a time to meet its obligations, obligations not to the bankers who underwrite a bond issue, but to the investors who depend for their income upon a regular return from these securities. (Applause.) Investors do not want bonds if there is any chance that the interest thereon

must be collected by war. Such bonds are not good investments, money can be placed much more safely at home. Investors in foreign securities do, however, desire some assurance of the support of their own government. In China it has never been necessary to collect interest by gunboats, and there is little likelihood that it will be necessary in the future, because China for years to come must finance her necessary development by foreign loans. No matter what party may be in power, it must borrow from abroad. It is therefore essential that the present government of China, or any that may succeed it, should pay interest when due in order that it may have continued and ready access to the money markets of the world.

Americans cannot expect nor can they legitimately desire exclusive support for certain individuals, but if the principle of support for merchants, contractors and engineers abroad be enunciated, assistance must be accorded those who already have had the courage and enterprise to engage in foreign trade. If we are to build up our interests abroad, moreover, firms that have not as yet established foreign connections must be encouraged to do so. They must be regarded as national assets, not as special interests, and whatever our differences may be at home, we must all—diplomats and consuls, missionaries and teachers, merchants and bankers—stand together, as Americans; we must assist each other in the work we are doing abroad, be it diplomacy or education or trade, for once we have seen the dock lights die, we become representatives of our country, trustees for its trade and of its reputation. (Applause.) For this reason, governmental support, if given, must be accorded only to those who by their performance will justify the confidence of foreigners in the representations of our government, and the confidence of our own government in them. We must apply eugenics to international trade.

I have ventured to speak at length of certain phases of our trade with China, because the unsettled conditions that still prevail in that country, despite the masterly administration of President Yuan Shih-kai, give to commercial problems a political importance and necessitate a degree of diplomatic attention, which fortunately would be superfluous elsewhere. I have been bold to do so, moreover, because all our guests this evening are, I do not doubt, thoroughly familiar with Chinese conditions and are to-day dealing with some at least of the problems now holding our attention.

The Chair: While we of this Association are interested primarily in trade with the Far East, we are not wholly sordid. We are sensible of the great influence which Asia has exerted on the world's philosophy, science, on its art and its literature. We know that Asia has given birth to the great religions of the world and we would be commercialized indeed and caloused to all the finer sensibilities if our Eastern associations had not brought us an appreciation of what the East has done for man-kind. I have said that we merchants must

claim to be the rank and file of the army of peace. No one will deny that our work is an important one but we must all admit the even broader human importance of fostering an international exchange of ideas.

We are peculiarly fortunate in having with us Dr. Anesaki, of the Imperial University, at Tokyo, one of the prime movers in organizing the Association Concordia, whose aim it is to promote the free discussion of national aspirations and ideals by the intellectual leaders of the world. Dr. Anesaki is this year lecturing at Harvard University and has, as a representative of the Japanese Association Concordia, already brought together in this country a group of representative men who are enthusiastic in support of his idea.

Speech of PROF. M. ANESAKI.

Gentlemen:—

It seems to me almost an irony of fate that I, a foreigner just learning to speak English, have to address you in the presence of the eminent statesman and greatest orator of America—there is no need of mentioning his name; moreover, I dare not do that because it is Oriental decorum not directly to name an illustrious personage. (Applause.)

I referred just now to fate and wish you to permit me to indulge myself in a little reverie. In the course of the world's history nations arose and nations disappeared, and the waves of migration and civilization moved in ancient times to and fro between Europe and Asia. In looking back at these undulating movements, the relations between the East and West seem to be a mystery of fate. Alexander the Great trod the frontiers of India under the hoofs of his steeds, but the Greeks whom he left there were presently converted to Buddhism and paid service to the newly embraced religion with their artistic genius—which was passed on to the Japanese living in the Far East. Rome conquered Western Asia, but the Roman Empire itself yielded at last to the cross of the Son of God who had appeared in Asia. And to-day one might even wonder whether the United States of America would have come to existence if Japan had not existed—what I mean to say is this, unless Columbus had read in Marco Polo of the wealth of Japan he would not have started on his voyage of discovery. Let me mention another contribution of the East to America. Was it not the East that supplied tea in the harbor of Boston which proved to be the signal of your national independence? What shall we say to all these, is it fate or providence? The Asiatics who poured into Europe on horseback and occupied its parts with their spears are now counted as Simon-pure Europeans and enjoy all the privileges of the Caucasian race, while another Asiatic people who remain peacefully as an agricultural folk are sometimes called undesirable aliens. Should we call this fate or providence?

I have spoken much of fate, but I am not a believer in blind fate. We Japanese are often criticised as being fatalists, but nothing is more contrary to the fact. Fate

in our Japanese conception is what would be called here moral retribution. I do not intend to give a lecture on the doctrine of Karma, which is Buddhist term for fate; all I wish to say is that our idea in this respect is nothing but the belief in the necessary connection between what is called fate and our own choice and deed. Good seed brings forth good fruit and bad seed bad fruit. The kernel seed of life is moral choice, deed its flower and fate its fruit. In this sense we must be willing to suffer and to submit to fate, if we regard it as a necessary consequence of our own choice; but this same faith gives us the power to resist injustice, even unto death, because to yield to injustice is to scatter broadcast the seeds of evil fate.

But fate or destiny, whether of an individual or of a nation, depends as much upon external circumstances as upon the inner character, and quite as much upon intention as upon effort. Most of the Asiatic peoples lived quite complacently content with themselves and this has reduced time to an inert stagnancy of life, while you the Western peoples have been making progress rapidly by virtue of intense effort. Unlike many others, Japan has fortunately not been knocked prostrate by conquerors and colonizers—by passing out of her isolation and is participating in the world's civilization—thanks to the American fleet which brought a kind-hearted awakening and a message of friendly counsel. In Japan a new era of the Restoration was opened by the solemn oath sworn by the Emperor that knowledge should be sought all over the world and that all measures of government should be based on the righteous way of heaven and earth. The happy consonance between the knocking at the door from outside and the response from within has created a new era in Japan, and she has ever since been faithful to her new destiny. Under the regime of this new civilization Japan is facing countless problems of the greatest earnestness, but most of these are due to the fact that we must proceed in orderly progress and at the same time not renounce or abandon any of our best inheritance. (Applause.)

Japan is often said to be doomed because she is being Westernized and because she is unwilling to admit that the East should remain East. And quite as often the opposite accusation is made and Japan now appears the incarnation of a devil colored Yellow Peril. In the first case we are pitied because we are endeavoring to adopt Western civilization and in the other case we are hated simply because we are Orientals. These views about Japan's present situation are not a barren criticism but an actual force which threatens us with violence. Until our last war with China our Western neighbor hated us and despised us because we seemed to her to be becoming the slaves of the Western "barbarians." This hatred increased in power until China so infringed upon Japan, that she was at last obliged to resist it with force of arms. It was the firm conviction of the whole Japanese nation in the war of 1894-5 that we were fighting in order to awaken China from her stubborn blindness to the world's progress. But curiously enough, no sooner

was the war ended than a picture of the Oriental devil appeared, designed to impress the Western peoples with the dread of the yellow peril. Thus we are threatened on either side and our task is to resist both extremes and to keep steadily to a middle course.

Despite these criticisms passed upon us, despite the threats which we can but hear, despite contradictory advice and warnings, despite the inner difficulty of steering between Scylla and Charybdis, we are firm in our resolution and faithful to the charge laid upon us by our sovereign, that our course should lie midway between East and West and that our destiny is to build a stone firmly into the bridge which binds the two civilizations together.

While reflecting on the mystery of fate, one can look backward and mark the advances already made, and to-day we cannot withhold a smile when we remember various incidents caused by contact of East and West. When tea was imported to England and was becoming a fashion, the innocent beverage encountered opposition. According to one English writer, the use of tea was responsible for the decline of beauty in women and for the loss of stature in men. Another writer, a German critic, accused Klopstock of the disloyalty to his country when he made a pastor's family in one of his novels drink tea, while Goethe was deemed patriotic because his Hermann, the lover of Dorothea, took no tea, but Rhinewine.

You surely smile on these forgotten prejudices, but are there not similar instances of Chauvinism still prevalent to-day? In India the people are quite in earnest in thinking that various calamities of the country are due to the habit of beef eating, and you know what a great influence is being exercised by the Hindoo anti-beef movement. To be quite frank, we Japanese ourselves once had a similar prejudice and thought that horns would grow on the heads of those who ate beef. But we now take beef contentedly without a trace of fear, and moreover, we have invented a new method of cooking beef *a la japonaise*; which I am sure everyone of you will enjoy. My former teacher, a Russian, who is a Professor of Philosophy in my University of Tokio, pays so little heed to Japanese things that he knows only four or five words of Japanese, after residing in Japan over twenty years. You will understand how I am proud to say that "*giu-nabe*," beef *a la japonaise*, is one of those few words which he knows and the thing which he likes exceedingly. Of course, he takes no interest in Japanese art and music because he is content with his Beethoven and Bach, Boticelli and Böcklin. One day I took him to an art exhibition and called his attention to a picture of the Buddhist goddess of Mercy, the life work of the greatest master of modern Japan. There in front of the picture he was almost charmed to ecstasy, sat down and gazed at the graceful figure and wonderful composition, without uttering a single word for half an hour. When the hall was to be closed and I told him of it, he looked back at me and said, "This is really a great work of art." (Applause.)

I beg your pardon for my digression, but I think, how-

ever trifling these incidents may seem, they throw some light upon the grave question of the relation between the East and West. One might say that the East is East and the West West but is not America now our Eastern neighbor and Japan our Western neighbor? After the breaking down of the barriers of the world's oceans by steamers, contacts of nations cannot be cut off. Just a century ago a Japanese prophet of the Open Door policy said, "It is the one and same water that connects London Bridge and Nippon Bridge (in Yedo)." May it now be possible to check the undulation of civilization where the sea tide rises twice every day and where there is exchange of commodities, intercourse of thoughts and ideas inevitably finds its way?

However one nation may differ from others in the situation she takes in the face of this contact, one point perhaps is common to all that each should advance her civilization in concord with the whole world and in keeping her own standpoint. At least we deem this to be our destiny and opportunity. There is a great variety in the problems arising from the contact of nations, economical, commercial, political, educational and many others, but the way of real understanding and deep-rooted concord can perhaps best be established among nations, through the channel of moral ideals and religious faith. What is needed in this respect is the openness of mind and quickness of sympathy which will penetrate the racial barrier and find its satisfaction in the full appreciation of the best effort and highest aspiration of the other nations. (Applause.)

With just this in mind we have organized in Japan a society, the Association Concordia, the chief object of which consists in interpreting the moral and religious ideals of the East and of the West to each other. A sister Association Concordia has been founded in America and we are together asking the cordial co-operation of all those who are mindful of promoting a universal concord among nations. Not uniformity but concord, this is our aim; and what Baron d'Estournelle Constant has expressed concerning this movement may well demand our consideration. He said: "*Avant la guerre l'arbitrage, mais avant l'arbitrage la conciliation et avant la conciliation la concorde.*" Are we wrong in counting His Excellency the Secretary of State among those foremost who would help us in this movement? (Applause.)

No doubt I may presume your Asiatic Association has something similar in view. Whatever the present issue may be, however special interest may differ, may we not keep our course true to an end which will fulfill both of our needs at the same time? The common good of the world and the further progress of real civilization can only be promoted by the open-minded concord and the far-reaching co-operation among the leaders of nations. Whatever happens, we must not let drift blind the counter-acting streams arising from the contact of the East and West, but we must strive for their solution with firm resolution, with an earnest conviction that destiny needs not be blind, and in an unflinching trust in Providence, (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The Choir: It is impossible, gentlemen, to introduce Mr. Bryan to any American audience and therefore, Mr. Secretary, I have the honor of introducing to you the members of the American Asiatic Association.

Speech by THE HONORABLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mr. President, Distinguished Guests and Gentlemen:—

In accepting the invitation extended by the American Asiatic Association, I am giving myself a pleasure as well as performing an official duty. My connection with the foreign affairs of the government keep me in touch with the expansion of American Commerce and the extension of American interests throughout the world, and I gladly avail myself of every opportunity to hear these subjects discussed by those who take an interest in them, whether that interest be financial or sentimental. But my coming is not a mere formal discharge of an official duty; I come gladly because I can bear testimony to the deep sympathy the President feels toward all that affects the growth and development of our influence in national and international interests, and I assure you that my sympathy is not less strong than his. (Applause.)

Your President, Mr. Willard Straight, speaking from a wide acquaintance with conditions in the Orient has given us a most instructive address, emphasizing, as is both natural and proper, the commercial aspect of our relations with the countries across the Pacific. I do not under-estimate the importance of these trade relations, and I commend his words to those whose attention has been or will be turned to the subject. I appreciate also the liberality of opinion he has shown in discussing those questions upon which different conclusions may be reached by those dealing with the subject. It helps us all to recognize differences of opinion, where differences exist, and it is important also that we recognize the honesty of those differences. The new administration in withdrawing approval from the Chinese loan did not question the good faith or good intent of those who had seen in it a means of increasing our influence, prestige and commercial power in China. The President believed that a different policy was more consistent with the American position, and that it would in the long run be more advantageous to our commerce. It would not be fair to attribute a falling off in trade, to which reference has been made, to the change in policy, because the new policy has not yet had time to bear fruit, even if political conditions had been entirely favorable. (Applause.)

The interests of the American citizen will be amply protected wherever he goes; and in saying that I say only what the President himself has said, and it cannot be said any stronger. I may say that American interests will be protected everywhere; and when Americans are going abroad they could not do a better thing for the benefit of American trade than to carry with them the high ideals that obtain in that trade at home. But when an American expects this government to back a project no matter how inconsistent that project may be with those high ideals, then I am afraid he will be disappointed

not only in the lack of support from the President and this Government as a whole, but in failing to inspire any sympathy for himself among the honest and right-thinking people of this country. When the President insists that the American abroad must give a dollar for every dollar of value received, the President is the friend of the future.

Mr. Straight has called attention to one step already taken which means much for American trade, viz., the authorization of international banks. We have long needed such a law, and I am sure that our foreign trade will be stimulated not only in the Orient but also throughout South America by the new law which permits banks here to establish branches throughout the world. (Applause.)

Mention has also been made of the new tariff law in the promotion of foreign trade. This influence can hardly be appreciated at this time, because its operation has only just begun. In his last speech, delivered just before his tragic death, President McKinley called attention to the necessity for tariff reduction, as a means of extending or increasing our exports. It was a prophetic utterance, to which the country has given a well-nigh universal response. We must show ourselves friendly if we would have friends. We must buy if we would sell. The new policy means a larger commerce between our nation and the world, and in this increase the Orient will have her share, and this advantage will be enjoyed not only in general by the public but especially by those merchants and manufacturers now turning their eyes to the Far East. (Applause.)

Another factor must not be overlooked: the President has outlined a third reform whose influence cannot be bounded by national lines. He has declared war upon private monopoly, and this means the investment of capital that has heretofore been frightened away from industrial fields. If the new policy results in a reduction in the size of corporations that have become overgrown, it will mean a larger number of independent and competing enterprises, and this competition will mean a better article at a lower price. It is worth while to inquire whether monopolization has not necessarily resulted in the restriction of exports, for the maintenance of an abnormally high price at home tends to prevent exportation, the manufacturer fearing that a reduction of price abroad might result in the loss of the advantage enjoyed at home. In proportion as industries rest upon their own merits rather than upon legislative favor, just in that proportion will they be strengthened for successful contest with competing industries throughout the world. (Applause.)

The President in his policies thus far announced has laid even a broader foundation for the extension of our trade throughout the Orient. He is cultivating the friendship of the people across the Pacific. He has already spoken a word of hope to the Filipinos. They are not a numerous people and their trade may not seem so large a prize as the trade of Japan and China, but the effect of our nation's Philippine policy will be felt

throughout the Orient. (Applause.) A recognition of the rights of the Filipinos to work out their own destiny will strike a responsive chord wherever the people have feared foreign influence. (Applause.)

The people of China have long regarded the United States as a friend, and the attachment has been strengthened by the prompt recognition by this government of China's political aspirations. Although less than a year has elapsed since the President took oath of office, he has had an opportunity to prove to Japan his respect for her position and achievements and his friendship for her people. (Applause.)

In addition to these specific instances, the President's policy contemplates the formation of an environment which will encourage the growth of all that is good. Man is not a creator in a fundamental sense. The farmer cannot put life into a grain of wheat, but he can give to the grain an environment which it can utilize. So, the government while it cannot create trade, can give to trade an environment in which it can develop, and that it is the duty of our government to do. If we can present to the world an example worthy of imitation, we shall be assisting ourselves while we assist others, for we shall reap a profit out of every nation's advance. If in any way we can stimulate education and bring it nearer to the ideal which contemplates the mental development of every human being, that larger intelligence will be of use to us as well as to the nations in which it is developed. (Applause.) If by our example we can assist any other nations in the improvement of their forms and methods of government, we shall share in the prosperity this better government brings. This government will see that no industrial highwayman robs you. This government stands committed to the doctrine that these United States are entitled to the greatest possible industrial and commercial development. (Applause.)

If by a cultivation of higher standards of morals we can assist any people anywhere to improve their moral standards, we shall not be without our reward. The doctrine of universal brotherhood is not sentimentalism—it is practical philosophy. As it is impossible for an individual to gain permanent advantage by doing injury to his fellows, so it is impossible for a nation to so isolate itself as to profit by another's downfall.

Our nation produces and consumes more than any equal population now living or that ever has lived. Why? Because there is more hope in the heart of the average man in this country than anywhere else on earth, and in so far as this nation can instil hope into the hearts of people anywhere, it will enable them to do a larger work and thus become more valuable to the world both as producer and consumer. (Loud applause.)

Whether we view the world therefore from a purely material standpoint or from the standpoint of religion, we must, if our force of reason is intelligent, reach the same conclusion, viz.: that we only build enduringly when we endeavor to raise the level upon which we all stand. This is the President's purpose in what he has done; it is the purpose of your President, Mr. Straight, and

the purpose of every member of this Association; it must be the real purpose of all who take a comprehensive view of our nation's position and responsibility in dealings with the people of the world. (Loud applause.)

A good diplomat is not only representative of his own country—he is the friend, and sometimes the counsellor, of the officials of the government to which he is accredited. During his experience of nearly four years in China, Mr. Calhoun won the personal affection of all who knew him, the admiration and respect of his own fellow-countrymen, and the gratitude and appreciation of China's leading officials. His period of service was a most difficult one. Under his guidance arduous negotiations were successfully consummated and during the period of transition, when the old Empire became the young republic, his counsel was sought both by the Imperial officials and by the younger and successful republican leaders. While his loss is mourned in China we are fortunate in having him here.

Speech of WILLIAM J. CALHOUN.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

The hour is getting late and I rise to address you with some hesitation. It is my understanding, however, that this audience is largely composed of American business men. I assume, therefore, that you have a direct interest in everything that affects the commercial life of our country, and it is on one phase of that life that I will assume to speak to-night. I approach the subject with some difficulty because I realize that I am not a trade expert, or even a practical business man. I must classify myself among the theorists, and some querulous person may say, "That is all right, this is the day of theorists." (Applause and laughter.) The practical business man is very much in the background and the least he says, the better it is for him. I don't know, therefore, whether I have any message to bring you that will interest you, or whether I can tell you anything that is particularly new; but I have a theory in which I am somewhat interested, and when I was invited to attend this dinner and told that I would be expected to say something, I could think of no subject that interested me more or that would be more appropriate to the occasion than the one I had in mind, and therefore I will venture to say something upon it.

It is my observation that the average American business man knows very little about trade conditions outside of his own country. This remark is not strictly applicable to a New York audience, because this city is one of the great entry ports of the world, and you have had more or less touch with foreign trade. The remark, however, is applicable, I think, to the country in general. When I say that I mean

no reflection upon the intelligence or the energy of the American business man. I simply mean that he has been so busy with his own affairs and the range of his activity is so limited to his own country that he has had neither the time nor felt the necessity for any special investigation abroad. Even the great army of American tourists who annually go abroad find out very little upon this subject. (Laughter.) They go for a vacation, for rest, for pleasure; they visit noted cities with historical associations, they inspect cathedrals, art galleries, museums, go to health resorts and social centers, and try to see as much as they can in a comparatively short period of time. Necessarily they come back with superficial and sometimes blurred impressions of the countries they visit.

Some four years ago, I was unexpectedly called to the public service at a post located on the other side of the world. There for the first time in my life I came into contact with, and had an opportunity of seeing the operations of the great commercial forces that were moving in the world. I noted with surprise and regret that my country had little or no place in the great development that was going on around and about me. I had heard much about the "Open Door" in China, a declaration in its favor first emanating from the United States. It was received with popular favor at home and abroad, but the result of my observation was to suggest the query, "What good does the Open Door do us if we never use it?" (Laughter and applause.) How are we benefited by it when other nationalities are crowding through the doorway and occupying the field to which it leads? It becomes with us a mere sentiment and abstraction; it has no practical value. And therefore I came back with some earnest convictions about the opportunities that were present and the duty that rested upon the American people in connection therewith. When I came home I found great changes had taken place during my absence. A political revolution had occurred. Old leaders were dismissed and new ones installed. Old and long established policies were abandoned and fresh ones substituted therefor. It is not my purpose to discuss the merits of these changes. I shall only refer to one of them, because it has some bearing on the question I have in mind, and I shall not speak from the standpoint of a party. In my opinion, never before, in the history of this country at least, never in my lifetime, was the spirit of partisanship at such a low ebb as now. That is because most of the old issues which once disturbed and divided the councils of our people have been settled; they have passed into history. We are entering upon a new era; we are confronted with new conditions; new social forces, deep and strong, are at work in our midst. New issues will be evolved therefrom. I interpret the public situation as one of expectancy, of anticipation; the great mass of the people are watching and wondering what is going to happen. It is a time for

serious reflection, for patriotic inspiration. Some features of the situation are to me startling, and yet have a certain measure of amusement in them. At the last session of Congress, unparalleled in the history of our country in point of duration at least, great economic conditions were under consideration; important legislation was being enacted, which under ordinary conditions would have excited great debate and developed great leadership on both sides of these questions. But the astonishing spectacle was presented, especially in the lower house—the House of Representatives, that the leader of the opposition (whom I know very well and who is a special friend of mine; I am not criticizing him) seemed to have no other duty than to get up once in a while and raise the question as to whether or not a quorum was present. (Laughter.) The legislative mill stopped, the roll was called, and the speaker solemnly announced that a quorum was present; the leader sat down satisfied, and the great legislative mill went on, crushing and grinding legislation, only to be stopped after a while for another test as to whether a quorum was present. (Laughter.) It simply illustrates practical conditions of the American public opinion at this time. It is my judgment, however, that we are entering upon a new era. So far as I am concerned, I am not much of a stand-patter, and I never have been. I believe that a nation cannot very long stand still; it must either go forward or backward. The only trouble with me, and with many others like me, is to discriminate between the right and the wrong path of reform along which we are to advance. Some reforms are guided by reason and common sense, and lead to great achievements; others are simply inspired by sentimentality, humanitarian though they may be, but the movement is apt to fail because of the jack-o-lanterns of false hopes and false dreams, which lead to swamps of despair and defeat. And so the query in my mind is—along what line does good sense, practical sense, guide and prompt us to follow. Pardon this digression; I only wanted to show my attitude toward the situation.

Before developing the point I have in mind, I crave opportunity to briefly review the history of our country. When this government was organized, its population might be likened to a fringe of humanity extending along the Atlantic Coast. Back of them, just beyond the range of the Allegheny Mountains, was the great territory extending to the Mississippi River, which was not settled, and the greater part of it not even explored. The American people assumed the task of developing the resources of the country committed to their care. They opened wide the gates and invited a great flood of foreign immigration, which spread over the land like the broken waves of the sea. Since that time, our people have been very busy clearing away forests, breaking prairies, uncovering mines, opening up farms, building railroads, cities, towns and villages. We have been a very busy people

and it is no wonder that we paid but little attention to foreign markets. And all this work has been done in a comparatively short period of time; if measured by the years that intervened, it may seem a long time, but when measured by a single life, it is a very short time, as may be illustrated by the following incident:

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was the first railway built in this country, and the first rail of that road was laid in 1829 in the City of Baltimore. The event was attended by a great popular demonstration on the part of the people of Baltimore. Now one of the officers and directors of the corporation who was present and who participated in the ceremonies incident to the occasion, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence—Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Maryland. (Applause.) I once read the first annual report of the president of that Railroad to its stockholders, and he reported the fact that they had constructed about forty miles of railroad to the West, towards Frederick, I think it was. He commented on the fact that the rails were made of wood, the motive power was horses, and he said suggestion had been made that the motive power might be increased by erecting on the trains huge masts and equipping them with sails, like ships at sea. He also commented on the fact that one Peter Cooper in New York was experimenting with a steam engine for railroad transportation. (Laughter.)

Now the point I wish to make is that there are many men now living who were living at the time this railroad construction was inaugurated, for I constantly take up newspapers and read of the death of some citizen born in 1824, 1826, 1829, and so forth. In other words, the great expansion of railroad transportation and the development of territory incident thereto has taken place within the lifetime of many men now living. Therefore it is not strange that our business men have limited their efforts to their own country. (Applause.)

But a new industrial condition was inaugurated by the introduction of machinery. It revolutionized our industrial life; it accelerated production and decreased prices; it attracted capital, and large units of production resulted therefrom. As long as we had the virgin market, a growing, expanding and absorbing market, a great demand was made upon the energies of our people to supply it; but time came when the volume of production increased so rapidly that the supply was greater than the demand. Whenever that condition exists there is reasonably sure to follow a period of excessive competition. Manufacturers and merchants find it necessary to move their accumulated stocks. To do so they cut prices, and a period of reckless and destructive competition is sure to follow. Frequent and successive periods of over-production occurred. An effort was made to remedy the situation or at least an impulse to control it was developed by the organization of large corporate combinations, the pur-

pose of which was to limit production, maintain prices and restrain competition. But these organizations exposed the country to another danger—the menace of monopoly. Public opinion became agitated by this development, and so it is that we had arrived at a period when we were alternating between the destruction incident to unbridled competition and the danger incident to private monopoly. I only speak of this development in order to diagnose the situation concerning our country. The government has for some time past been busy in disrupting these combinations with a view of returning to the old time competitive conditions. Competition is regarded as a panacea for all our industrial ills. I recognize the value of competition, yet it has its limitations. Many are the hearts that are broken; many the human wrecks that have gone drifting down the stream of time into the great sea of oblivion, who were the victims of destructive competition. In such periods it is only the strong and sometimes the unscrupulous who survive—the weaker perish. It may be remarked in passing that the old ideal competitive condition that once existed in this country, wherein small units of production might grow and expand, no longer exists, because conditions have changed. The virgin, growing, expanding and absorbing market no longer is there. I do not mean to say that our country is fully developed. We are said to have one hundred million people now, and before another generation has passed, we may have two hundred million. The consuming power of the country will increase in proportion, but the producing power will keep even pace therewith, and the strain between supply and consumption will still exist and may possibly be more and more intensified as time goes on.

Another thought: The chief part of our exports, in my mind, has been made up of meat products, grain and cotton. It is safe to say they are the basic elements of our exports. We are told that the meat supply of this country is not sufficient to meet the present demand; already they are beginning to import meat from South America. James J. Hill said not long ago that the time was not far distant when we would have to import grain wherewith to feed our people. I know that other nations are busy trying to find cotton fields in other parts of the world. And so we are confronted with a condition wherein our main supports may fall off and materially affect the balance of trade against us.

Another element is introduced into the situation. All this great development to which I have referred has gone on for the most part behind a wall of tariff which protected our industries from foreign competition. The great economic change that has recently taken place has removed that protection.

Some two thousand years ago, the Chinese were very much disturbed by invasions of Mongolians and Manchurians, who pillaged and looted their country. These conditions caused a continuous strain upon the

Chinese to protect their people. It was finally determined to build a great wall along the Northern border line separating China from Mongolia and Manchuria. After long years of patient labor, the wall was constructed, and in the days of bows and arrows and spears and swords, it answered the purpose; it shut out the Mongolians and Manchus, and China was at peace. But, as the story goes, the last Emperor became involved in a revolution, which he was not able to suppress. He made a deal with the Manchus whereby they undertook to assist him in suppressing this revolution. A gate in the wall was opened, and the Manchu army was allowed to march in. They carried out their contract and suppressed the revolution. But for centuries they had been vainly striving to get through the wall into China, and they now found themselves at the point to which their ambition had been so long directed. The land looked good to them; it was flowing with milk and honey. They resolved to stay there. So they marched toward Peking. The Emperor saw the mistake he had made, and in his mortification and despair he hung himself on the top of Coal Hill, in the "Forbidden City." Thus ended the last distinctly Chinese dynasty. The Manchus remained in the country, and dominated and ruled it for some three hundred years.

Now at the time our so-called tariff reform was made, it was declared from high places that one of its purposes was to permit foreign competition to have a place in this country, so that our manufacturers might feel its force and be stimulated to greater activity. I am not discussing the merits of this proposition, I accept it as an established fact. I am only trying to measure the probable results derived therefrom. We have taken down the tariff wall in a great many places and reduced it in others, and an invasion of the "Manchus" may be expected. I have no fear that they will conquer this country or dominate its trade. I do think, however, that wherever a dollar's worth of foreign goods is sold in this country, it takes the place of the profits of our mills and factories, who to that extent are injured, and to that extent also our productive power is restricted, our capital investment is impaired, and opportunity for our labor lessened. And if the invasion continues long enough and goes far enough, it may seriously affect our local trade situation, unless we can find compensation elsewhere for the loss thus sustained, and the only compensation that I see is to be found in the extension of our foreign trade. If we open the door for the foreigner to come in, we also ought to open the door for our merchants and manufacturers to go out into the world and find new markets, and thus equalize our commercial relations with foreign countries. (Applause.)

We are building the Panama Canal, we are spending some four hundred millions of dollars in this great enterprise. It is expected that this Canal will be a great highway of commerce; it will change the trade routes

throughout the world. I was talking with a French Engineer in Chicago not long ago, and he told me that such were the demands that would be made upon that canal that it would only be a few years until it would have to be re-constructed, widened and deepened to a sea-level canal to meet the demands of commerce. Whose commerce is it that will use this canal? Whose ships will pass to and fro from one ocean to another? We have no ships; no foreign commerce to speak of. We shall not have any ships until we have cargoes for them. We shall not have any cargoes until we have markets in which to sell them, and will not have any markets until our manufacturers go abroad and establish markets. (Applause.) And in that work co-operation is required. I see by the papers that Congress has voted a large appropriation to build a railroad in Alaska to help the people of that country by furnishing them the required transportation facilities. We are in a new era in the history of our country. Should not our government help our people in some way to furnish transportation by sea as well as by land? (Applause), and establish some policy that will create a commercial marine? Why, I have made two trips around the world recently; I have visited many lands and crossed many seas and touched at many seaports, and I did not see my country's flag in a single port, except flying over the decks of one Pacific Mail steamer in Hong Kong. Now, here are representatives of Japan, a comparatively small country, and only recently emerged from the shadows of the centuries. I saw her ships, I saw the rising sun of Japan in every port and on every sea that I visited, and that country is deficient in raw products,—she has iron industries, but has to go abroad for her iron ore; she has activity in cotton industries but has to go abroad for her raw products; and yet she is developing her commerce all around the world. She displayed to the world wonderful courage and efficiency in war; she is showing equal courage and efficiency in commerce. And why, with all this great area of territory, with almost unlimited national resources, and with a people that have achieved wonders in the past, not a ship, not a flag afloat upon the seas anywhere? (Cries of "Hear! Hear!") Is it not necessary for us to have a new era in government?

Where shall we find markets? South America is a great field for commercial development. For the most part it is a virgin territory. The resources of that vast continent have hardly been touched, and we have comparatively little trade connection with the people of that Continent. Some years ago I went to Venezuela. My mission had nothing to do with trade affairs. I looked around and made inquiries. I found that in the City of Caracas there was a large foreign representation. There were Frenchmen enough to justify the organization and maintenance of a French Club; there was a German Club; and the English were there in great numbers; but there were only two native-born

Americans in the City of Caracas, one of them running a steam laundry (who has since left I am told), and the other a newspaper correspondent. I only refer to this as evidencing the want of attention on our part to opportunities outside of our own country. And I found that the United States was the greatest market, the nearest market, for the products of Venezuela, and we received only a minor share of her demands. I do not blame the Venezuelans; they do not know anything about our country. The only city in our country they know anything about is New York, and they only know it because it is the place where they change ships when they are going to Europe. (Laughter.) Why, one of the most prominent men in the government there, an intelligent, cultivated gentlemen of information and character came to me one day and said, "Have you any schools in your country for the education of young men? I have two boys I am getting ready to send to Europe, and the thought occurred to me that perhaps you had some schools in your country where young men could be educated." How little he knew of our country and how little we know of that country.

Now, it takes a great many influences to develop trade. There must be the merchant and he must have the persistence and the courage. It will not do to box up some shoes and send them down to Venezuela and expect them to be sold; they will not be sold; they are not the kind of shoes they wear. It is the same way with almost everything else. Our people have got to go to the market, organize, establish their agency, have men to study the conditions of the market and what they require, and then try to meet the demand. In China there were a number of young men trying to establish commercial relations with that country. One of them I remember seemed to be a very bright young fellow, and I asked him what the trouble was and if he could get any orders. He said he could get plenty of orders, but could not get the consistent, persistent support of the manufacturers at home; when trade was good here and orders were plentiful, they paid no attention to foreign orders; but when trade was bad, then they were eager for foreign business. No trade can ever be developed in any such irrational and inconsistent way. I told some boot and shoe men the other night in Chicago that I thought China would be a great market for American shoes. I do not know whether the Chinese are going to change their costume or not—and I hope not—but I noticed that as soon as they commenced cutting off queues, the next thing was a foreign hat; I could tell when a fellow was coming down the street whether he had his queue off, if he had his hat on. And so the next great strike will be for foreign shoes. Why, I tell you what, if I were a wholesale shoe dealer, I would be over there right now studying conditions and trying to make a shoe adapted to their tastes and needs. There is a wonderful market there for them.

Mr. Straight knows as well as I do, that up in Pekin, where Zero weather is the rule, there is hardly a stove to be found in any native house, whether the palace of the rich or the hovel of the poor. It is only now they are commencing to put little dinky sheet iron stoves in one corner, and run the pipe through the window. What do you think of that for a market for stoves? They are commencing to use coal and to distribute it by railroad over the country. There is a fine field for investigation and exploration. One of the great American institutions that is at work there had to teach the people to use its product, and to do this they supplied them with cheap lamps to induce them to burn their kerosene. (Laughter.) With faith in the future, that one commercial interest has developed a great trade all over the country; up every creek and bay, wherever a boat can go; along every railroad, on every mountain trail; it is these methods that are spreading and developing a great trade. Another American interest I know has taught the people there to use a certain sewing machine. I asked the Superintendent of the district: "Are you getting a big trade?" He answered, "Yes. It is slow, but we are *building for the future*." That is the method.

And this great field is open to us. Are we laying the foundation for a great trade? The possibilities of that country are immense. Other nations are fully alive to the situation. They have their representatives there, well organized, well supplied with capital and supported by diplomatic influence. One thing must be remembered—in establishing trade relations with an undeveloped country, capital plays a very important part. China needs money for the establishment of her government, for the opening up of her country, the development of her commerce. She needs railroads for the unification of her country, the development of her commercial life, the creation of a solidarity in national aims and sympathies. At present there is no unified sentiment in China; there is no solidarity except that which comes from the inertness of great masses of comparatively ignorant people. South America needs capital for building railroads, opening mines and clearing away her forests. Therefore, the banker as well as the merchant, must play an important part in the development of trade relations. (Applause.) When we were engaged in the work of developing our country, we borrowed enormous sums of money from abroad. No diplomatic notice was taken of these transactions, because Americans had experience and had demonstrated their efficiency along the various lines of enterprise for which the money was needed. They had established a credit for themselves which entitled them to consideration; and in addition, the foreigner who lent the money knew we had well-defined laws and well-established courts to which they could appeal for the protection of their rights and the enforcement of their contracts. (Applause.) But when you come to a country like China, you find a

people who in all the affairs that belong to their old life are very efficient, but when it comes to newer affairs they do not have the experience, the education or training to make them efficient. Therefore they do not command credit. In addition, they have no well-defined laws, no courts above the dignity of a police magistrate, and the foreigner who invests money there has no protection except the diplomatic support of his government. I do not believe that governments should guarantee contracts or become a mere collecting agency, but their nationals who seek to establish trade relations with backward countries must have some support, otherwise there will be no stimulus in that direction. (Applause.) No dream of far-flung imperialism lures me; no great navies floating over the sea; no marching armies with blood-stained banners cross my vision; but the peaceful, helpful commercial relations of people established on mutual interest, prompted by fair dealing and resulting in benefits to both sides, is the ideal conception I have of the future. And to that end—gentlemen, I could talk longer on this subject because I am so interested in it—(Cries of "Go on, do not stop; keep it up!") To that end, I say, I wish for a man, some great soul having the vision to enable him to look through the vista of coming years and see the path of destiny along which his country is to march, and has the courage to lead and guide his people along the way marked out. We have the Panama Canal, Guam, Hawaii, the Philippines; all stepping stones across the Pacific marking the way for the advance of American interests. I do not know what would become of the Filipinos, that is another question; but whatever may become of them, I assume we shall have a naval base and a commercial base for our trade there. We certainly have spent money enough, sacrificed blood enough, and done them enough good, to have earned that much. (Applause and cries of "Hear! Hear!")

Now, it is all right to hold up a high moral standard before the people; it is all right to install into their minds conceptions of ideals, the beautiful, and the brotherhood of man; yet there are certain practical necessities in the life of every individual which must be supplied before he can appreciate what is beautiful and what is good. (Applause.) The condition in China today may be illustrated by a story I told some of you on a former occasion. The condition of China toward us is very much like a man in Church when they were taking up the collection. The collector came around to him, but the man shook his head and did not give anything. The collector expostulated, saying, "This is a great work—cannot you give something; why are you not going to contribute to the advancement of the work of God in this community?" "No, I must keep my money for my creditors," was the reply. "Well," said the collector, "your greatest creditor is God; you certainly acknowledge that."

"Yes," he responded, "I admit that, but He does not push me like the others." (Loud laughter.)

We say to China, "We are your friends." The Chinese say, "Yes, we appreciate that, we understand; but we have placed ourselves under obligation to other people at a crisis in our life when you would not contribute, and our obligations demand that we favor those people who helped us." Well, there is a great deal of sense in that, and I cannot blame the Chinese. I have just heard of a young American over there who made a bid on a great public work. His bid was lost. He had the capital, the record, the reputation, and the ability to carry it out; but he was denied the contract because it had to be given to others who had met the critical situation and helped China when she needed it.

I believe the real theory is that bankers, merchants, government, and all nations should co-operate and work together; and I think it is impossible for us to wrap the mantle of exclusion around us and refuse to take our share in the responsibilities and privileges of the world. We as Americans must go out into the world and assume our full share of responsibility, and at the same time keep true to the ideals that have always characterized human life. (Cries of "Hear! Hear!" and enthusiastic applause.)

BUSINESS AND EDUCATION IN CHINA.

The fundamental problem in the Orient, alike in government, religion, social relations, and business, is the building up of ideals, habits, and institutions through some sort of education. The administration in the Philippines made the discovery early. It has largely moulded the policy of the Japanese at home and in Korea. When things go wrong in India the source of the trouble is likely to be looked for in the department of education. So also "China's only hope" is in "learning." The missionaries have found that evangelization awaits the education of a native ministry. The government established schools as one of the first steps in military and naval reform. The custom of foot-binding has declined only after a long campaign of education among all classes. And the success of the Standard Oil Company required a preliminary education in the use of kerosene.

American commercial men know the value of advertisement better than those of any other nation. But in the Orient all means of educating the people from a business standpoint, have been neglected by American firms. There are a few exceptions, such as dealers in oils, patent medicines, tobacco, and canned milk, whose success makes the case the more remarkable. The Chinese do not yet understand the principles of advertising in periodicals, and rarely, if ever, have mailing lists, although there is a splendid postal service with parcel post arrangements.

But the European dealers are alive both to the con-

suming powers of such a nation and the many avenues of approach which are open. The American business man is looking for concessions and big single deals, and letting the Europeans have the immense trade in small articles and small quantities that is rapidly growing up. This is in spite of the fact that on the one hand the government of China apparently prefers to give concessions to Europeans, while the people seem to prefer to do business with Americans. I could cite many instances in proof of the latter fact.

Not long ago a Mr. Ma, returned from America, established at Canton a big department store, the third in that city. He adapted American ideas to Chinese customs and used various advertising schemes and attractions, including an elevator (admission 5 cents Mex.) and a telescope on the roof which overlooked the whole city. Chinese ladies, as was expected, found it entirely proper and very convenient to take a sedan chair from home straight to where they could buy almost anything native or foreign. As a result after a few months it became necessary to charge admission at the door to keep out the crowds. Mr. Ma is exceedingly friendly to Americans and knows American goods and methods, but his fabrics, notions, canned goods, novelties, jewelry, etc. are chiefly European, because the European dealers are there "on the job." The new flag was hardly adopted before an Austrian manufacturer had on the way to China enameled pins in the five-bar design.

Large trade possibilities are not confined to canned goods, notions, and the staples of the present trade. The numbers of printing presses and bales of paper, of gasoline and oil engines for shallow draft boats, of cameras and supplies, of lathes and other tools, of chemicals and medicines, and of other products of modern civilization shipped into China, are already great and rapidly increasing.

But the safer an article is from imitation the more education its use demands. Hence the British manufacturers and merchants have equipped free of charge and well endowed the engineering department of the recently established Hongkong University. The Chinese must have trained men to retail, repair, and handle their engines until the ordinary workman comes to have a higher grade of intelligence. The Chinese want, for example, marine engines for their immense small scale water traffic usually with three qualifications: lightness, cheapness, and suitability to use kerosene, which is for sale everywhere. But the German and British motors of the best makes are as a rule twice as heavy and twice as expensive as, say, the Gray motors, claiming superiority for the crude oil types rather than for the light oil ones. The trade, however, will be in the type the youthful engineers are best acquainted with. A dealer recently took a big shipment of bee-hives to Canton, and the farmers were delighted until they found the Chinese bee will not work in them, and the great stack of hives remained unsold. The agricultural expert at the Canton Christian College has experimented and found that a slight change in the size of the cells of the foundation comb will make the

necessary adjustment. Business and education must advance together.

These facts are being appreciated in some quarters. Douglas Vickers, President of the British Engineers' Association said at a meeting in Sheffield last winter, "There is a large field for British engineering enterprise in China and it is likely to increase very largely in the near future. The English could assist by furthering the cause of education in China and seeing that universities and colleges are as far as possible staffed by English professors and furnished with English equipment.

The May issue of "Eastern Engineering" (British) had an illustrated article describing the gifts to the engineering department of Hongkong University from British manufacturers and quotes Prof. Smith, head of that department, as saying, "Chinese students will gain a good idea of the high quality of British manufactures and in time to come when they develop into positions of responsibility will unquestionably lean toward the machinery with which they are already acquainted when purchasing supplies."

Most of the modern education in China has been done by American missions. An article on "Commercial Possibilities" in the "China Press" referring to this says, "America is beginning to derive benefits from her disinterested and altruistic efforts." Capt. Fitz-Hugh called the attention of the British Engineers' Association to the importance of such a fact as this: "The Young China Party is composed almost entirely of returned students from America imbued with the idea that nothing is good except what comes from America."

The Germans know the far-reaching values of scientific education and all educational institutions. They have opened a school in Canton for the sake of its assistance to commerce. A recent consular report mentions their establishing a college in Shantung Province in order to promote German commerce with China, especially in the field of agricultural implements. A German newspaper reporter who came to Canton sent back an account of how American business men were promoting their interests by the establishing of the Canton Christian College with plans for departments in medicine, agriculture, education, engineering, manual arts, etc. As a consequence the Germans keep as close a watch upon the College as upon our warships. As is well-known one of the first acts of the Japanese in exploiting the China trade was to establish a school in Shanghai for Japanese commercial agents, and the prime factor in permanently binding Korea to Japan will be the Japanese school system.

The majority of the best schools in China are American mission schools. The question is what American trade is going to do to stimulate and strengthen this form of philanthropy which in the end is sure to bring such large returns to American trade, and which has already been one of the most powerful factors in cementing the friendship of the Chinese and American people and in building that foundation of international peace upon which trade ultimately depends. *Depends by Google*
New York, December 26, 1913. HENRY B. GRAYBILL.

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

COUNT HAYASHI'S REMINISCENCES.

Two instalments of a series of articles written by the late Count Hayashi, describing the history of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, were recently published by the *Jiji*. Count Hayashi, as Japanese Minister to Great Britain, conducted the negotiations which resulted in the Alliance. After two instalments had been published, the Japanese Government forbade the publication of further instalments. The first part of what follows is a translation published by the *Japan Chronicle* of Count Hayashi's articles which appeared in the *Jiji*. The remainder is the continuation of the reminiscences, publication of which the Japanese Government endeavored in every way to prevent both in Japan and abroad.

"Some years ago, more especially after the lease of Kiaochao Bay to Germany and Port Arthur and Dalny to Russia in 1898, opinions recommending an Anglo-Japanese Alliance were expressed by British journals, and one evening, after a banquet, Mr. Chamberlain, who was then the British Secretary for the Colonies, in the course of conversation with Mr. Kato, my predecessor as Japanese Minister to London, spoke of the advisability of making an understanding between Great Britain and Japan on the Far Eastern question. The Governments of the two countries, however, did not enter upon any serious negotiations for such an understanding.

"About March or April, last year (1901) Baron Eckertstein, the German Chargé d'Affaires in London, called on me several times, and told me that in his opinion nothing would be more effective for maintaining peace in the Orient than a triple alliance between Japan, Great Britain and Germany, and as far as his knowledge went, amongst the members of the British Cabinet, influential men like Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Balfour, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Duke of Devonshire had for a long time held this view, and latterly the Marquis of Salisbury had also accepted the suggestion."

In Germany, the Baron continued, anti-British feeling was running very high amongst the people, but the German Government did not share the popular sentiment. In particular he said two of the most distinguished dignitaries (presumably the German Emperor and Count Buelow; on the occasion of the funeral of Queen Victoria, King Edward and the German Emperor met several times at Osborne, and Baron Eckertstein always attended the German Emperor at these meetings, so that he seemed to know the real circumstances) were in favor of the idea of making an alliance of the three Powers. Should the Japanese Government take the initiative for concluding such a triple alliance, he said, the scheme would be certainly accomplished successfully. What the real object of Baron Eckertstein was in making such a suggestion, whether he spoke to me of the scheme because he was instructed by his Government with the real alliance, or whether he took this course for some other object, I am unable to ascertain.

"There could be no doubt that if the British Government had any intention of entering into an alliance with Japan, as was represented to me by Baron Eckertstein, it would be a combination greatly advantageous to Japan.

I also thought it advantageous, and as it could do no harm at least to sound the intention of the British Government on this question, I applied for the permission of my Government to do so. In a telegram dated April 16, last year (1901) I was authorized by my Government to sound the British Government, but on my own responsibility, and in no way binding my Government, which was not in a position to express any opinion either for or against the idea.

"I had occasion to see Lord Lansdowne the following day (April 17), and in the course of our conversation I referred to the Chinese question, and explained that the future of China was a source of anxiety to me, and that it was a matter of urgent necessity to make a permanent agreement between Japan and Great Britain for the maintenance of peace in the Orient. I express this opinion as my own personal view. I sought the views of Lord Lansdowne, who agreed that it was advisable to elaborate some means for the purpose, but owing to the absence from London of Lord Salisbury (the Premier), the British Government did not further consider this important question.

"Lord Lansdowne, however, was quite willing to listen to me if I had any good suggestion to make. When I was about to part from him, Lord Lansdowne stated that such an agreement would not of necessity be confined to the two countries, and he suggested that any other country might be admitted into the agreement. From this statement of Lord Lansdowne, and also from the statement of the German Chargé d'Affaires, I thought that the British Government had already had occasion to consider the question, and might even have sought the views of the German Government thereon, but owing to the absence from London of Lord Salisbury nothing more could be done for the settlement of such an important matter.

"I, therefore, decided to watch the position of the British Government and renew the conversation upon the return to London of Lord Salisbury. I telegraphed accordingly to my Government. I thought it would be difficult for my Government to form a sufficiently concrete idea to enable them to send me instructions when so far I had only referred to the matter in a vague sort of way, and thought it would be expedient to form a basis of agreement for hastening the negotiations. Accordingly, I suggested by telegram that an agreement might be made on the following basis, if my Government really had an intention of making an Anglo-Japanese Alliance:—

"1.—That the 'open door' principle and the territorial integrity of China should be maintained.

"2.—That no country should be allowed to obtain any territorial rights in China except those already obtained from China by treaties already published.

"3.—That Japan, having greater interests in Korea than any other country, her ally should give her freedom of action in Korea.

"4.—That should either of the allied parties be in-

volved in hostilities with any other country, the other party to the alliance should observe neutrality in the struggle, and not go to the assistance of its ally. In the event, however, of a third country coming to the assistance of the enemy of the ally, the other party to the alliance should go to the assistance of its ally.

"5.—That the existing Anglo-German Agreement shall remain in force.

"6.—That this alliance shall apply exclusively to affairs relating to Eastern Asia, and the sphere of the operation of the alliance shall not go beyond the limits of Eastern Asia.

"The Government did not express any opinion on the terms I suggested, but thought an understanding might have been arrived at between Great Britain and Germany, in view of the statement of Lord Lansdowne to me that such an agreement should not necessarily be confined to the two countries. My Government considered it necessary that I should inquire into the existence of any understanding between Great Britain and Germany, and instructed me to find out this information on my own responsibility.

"Lord Salisbury having returned to England on May 10, 1901, I called on Lord Lansdowne on the 15th, and inquired his views on an agreement between Japan and Great Britain, of which I spoke at my last meeting with him. Lord Lansdowne wished to know some details of my views as to what lines such an agreement should follow, and I replied that the policy of the Japanese Government towards China, as had been repeatedly declared, was to maintain the principle of the 'open door' and guarantee the 'territorial integrity' of China and also to maintain Japanese interests in Korea. I further stated that I believed that the interests of Great Britain and Japan in China were identical, and I thought it of the greatest importance for the two countries to join themselves against any combination of other countries.

"Lord Lansdowne replied that it was easy to discuss the main lines of the question, but when details were entered upon some difficult questions would arise. He said he would refer my views to the Marquis of Salisbury. He repeated that the proposed agreement was not necessarily to be confined to the two countries, but a third country also might be admitted. Next day Baron Eckertstein, the German Chargé d'Affaires, called on me and told me that he had visited the Marquis of Lansdowne just after I had seen the Marquis the previous day, and learned from him what I told him. I reported the particulars of my interview with Lord Lansdowne to the Tokio Government, with a recommendation for careful consideration.

"By this time a Cabinet change took place in Tokio. Prince Ito was released from the Premiership on May 10 and Marquis Saionji was appointed Premier *ad interim*. On June 2, another change took place in the Cabinet. Prince Katsura (then Viscount) formed a new Cabinet. Baron Sone, Finance Minister, was appointed acting Minister of Foreign Affairs in place of Mr. (now Baron) Kato. On account of the confusion caused by these Ministerial changes, no reply came from the Tokio Government to my telegram, and no further communication was made to me by Lord Lansdowne, so I let the matter rest.

"On July 15, Sir Claude Macdonald, the British Ambassador to Japan, who was then in London on furlough, unexpectedly called on me, and told me that he had had

an audience with King Edward a few days previously when His Majesty stated that it was necessary for Japan and Great Britain to make an understanding in some way or other, and that a temporary understanding would not be sufficient. Sir Claude further stated, that he had seen Lord Salisbury, whose views on the question went a step further. His opinion was that an alliance must be made between Japan and Great Britain, and in the event of two or more countries combining and attacking one of the allies—Japan or Great Britain—the other ally should go to the assistance of the party attacked.

"The British Government had the intention of forming an alliance of this nature, but this being a new departure from its former old-established foreign policy, the accomplishment of such an agreement would require some time, and Lord Salisbury feared that an alliance might be formed between Japan and Russia in the meantime. Sir Claude added that Baron Eckertstein had visited the British Foreign Office and also expressed a fear that an alliance would be made between Japan and Russia.

"I thought the object of Sir Claude suddenly calling on me and referring to the question of the proposed Anglo-Japanese Alliance was to pave the way for opening the negotiations seriously, he acting under the instructions of Lord Lansdowne. I, therefore, telegraphed to the Tokio Government details of the statement made to me by Sir Claude, adding that, as the British Government feared that an alliance would be made between Japan and Russia, if the Tokio Government hinted that Japan and Russia would combine (if there was no prospect of the proposed Anglo-Japanese Alliance coming to a successful conclusion) and so stimulate the British Government, a favorable agreement could be made with Great Britain."

After the above had appeared in the *Jiji*, the Japanese Government forbade the publication of further instalments of Count Hayashi's articles. The continuation of the reminiscences is as follows:—

"Sir Claude Macdonald in this conversation said: 'Whilst we are wasting time thus, Japan might have the notion to make an alliance with Russia. Indeed the German Ambassador went to the Foreign Office and told me that there is a possibility of that.' To this I replied the feelings of Japan are against Russia, but are in favor of Great Britain. It is certain, however, that sentiment should be subordinate to actual considerations of profit and no doubt if Russia should agree to surrender to us certain substantial privileges, then our feeling against that country might be smoothed away.'

"It appears to me that Macdonald was speaking after a consideration of Lord Lansdowne's ideas and that he was working towards the materialization of what I had said a few days before about an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Judging from his remarks I gathered that Great Britain sincerely desired a treaty, but at the same time feared that Japan might conclude a convention with Russia. I thought that we might utilize this fear or apprehension on the part of Great Britain and pretend that a convention would be negotiated with Russia and thus hasten the conclusion of the treaty. I telegraphed to Tokio my conversation with Macdonald and also my views on the same as above.

"On July 31, I saw Lord Lansdowne and the following conversation took place. He said: 'The time has come to make a careful study of the problem of making a per-

manent treaty with Japan. I want to ask you the views of Japan on the relationship of international interests in Manchuria and also what sort of treaty Japan wants us to make. To this I replied, 'In my opinion the interest of Japan in Manchuria is only indirect. If, however, the Russians occupy Manchuria and extend their influence there, then she will absorb Korea, a course against which Japan would have to protest. What Japan needs to do is to prevent Russia from coming into Manchuria, and, secondly, in case she should be engaged in war with Russia, to prevent a third party from coming to the help of Russia.'

"Lord Lansdowne replied: 'Great Britain has very little interest in Korea, but she does not wish Korea to fall into the hands of Russia. As regards our policy in China, it is the maintenance of the open door and China's territorial integrity, i.e., the policies of Japan and Great Britain in China coincide. I believe that it is time measures be mutually adopted to protect our interests. Now when Russia proposed to make Korea a buffer state, why did Japan reject the proposal?'

"I replied: 'It is useless to assume a neutral position for Korea. The Koreans are totally incapable of governing themselves. We can never tell when civil war may not break out. In such case who will hold the reins of government? It is most natural for countries having interests in Korea to have those conflicting.'

"Lord Lansdowne here remarked that the situation between Japan and Korea was similar to that between Great Britain and the Transvaal. I telegraphed this conversation home to Tokio and on August 8, received the following telegram: 'Japanese Government acknowledges purport propositions made by Great Britain regarding definite agreement; accepts *in toto* your reports conversations Lord Lansdowne; desires you proceed obtain particulars British attitude hereafter; success or failure this convention depends your carefulness; when our policy fully decided work be easy.'

"Of course I felt delighted on receiving this. I never felt happier. I had an interview with Lord Lansdowne and went into further particulars with him. As I had not yet received the power of plenipotentiary to negotiate I continued to speak only as a private person. On August 16, Lord Lansdowne went to Ireland for a holiday. Before he left he told me that he would give the matter the most careful thought during his vacation and requested me meanwhile to get the power of plenipotentiary from my Government. Thus matters rested for a time.

"On September 21, Mr. Komura was appointed Foreign Secretary and on October 8, telegraphed me as follows: 'Japanese Government carefully considered question proposed alliance formed policy definitely as before telegraphed now hereby give you power exchange views British Government regard same—'

"Having thus received the formal power of plenipotentiary I began the negotiations proper.

"On October 16, I called on Lord Lansdowne at the Foreign Office and our conversation on that day resulted in the preamble of the Treaty of Alliance. It was briefly as follows: Lord Lansdowne: 'I understand from your remarks that although you have received the power of plenipotentiary you have not yet received full instructions from your Government as regards details. I am therefore quite willing that our conversation should be personal and that what you may say shall not be taken as binding on your Government.'

"I replied to this affirmatively and said that we could discuss the matter, and my home Government could afterwards make emendations or amendments. The Marquis agreed and then said: 'As the first thing in making an agreement is to obtain the views and wishes of other

contracting parties I would like to know what are the wishes of Japan in this matter.' I replied: 'My country considers as its first and last wish the protection of its interests in Korea and the prevention of any other country from interfering in Korea.'

"'What,' the Marquis then asked, 'is your policy in China?' I replied: 'As before stated we entirely agree with the British policy, in China, that is we stand for the maintenance of the open door in and the territorial integrity of China.' The Marquis then asked: 'What sort of a treaty do you think that Japan and Great Britain should enter into?' I said in reply: 'We should like a treaty so that if another country should engage in war with one of the allies and a third country should go to the assistance of the hostile country, then the non-belligerent ally should go to the help of her attacked ally.'

"Lord Lansdowne replied: 'What you ask appears to me to be reasonable. We think, however, that the treaty should be broader and that aside from the conditions asked by you, Japan and Great Britain should always maintain the closest friendship and as regards Far Eastern affairs we should exchange our views without reserve and take concerted action throughout. That is, we think, very important.'

"I believe that the Marquis wanted to nail us down beforehand so as to prevent us from entering into any agreement with another Power after the proposed treaty of alliance had been concluded. I replied that the wishes of my country would be in the same spirit. The Marquis closed the interview stating that he would lay all that I had said before Lord Salisbury, and after carefully studying the matter he would discuss it again with me. Before I left, however, I asked him: 'What do you think about including Germany in the agreement?' He replied: 'At first we shall negotiate with you and then later in the course of the negotiations we may invite Germany to come into the Alliance. I think that is the best way.' The reason I mentioned Germany was because I was not assured as to the relationship between Great Britain and Germany and wanted to find out whether there was any definite understanding that Germany would have to be invited.

"From the various conversations I had with Lord Lansdowne it appeared that Great Britain considered the proposed alliance seriously, and on November 6, Lord Lansdowne handed me the draft (first) of the proposed treaty. The gist of it was as follows: Desirous of maintaining the present state of affairs in the Far East, of preserving the general peace and especially of preventing the absorption of Korea by another country and of maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of China, of securing in China the equal commercial and industrial privileges for every country, the two allied nations have agreed to the following:

"1.—If Great Britain or Japan should engage in war with another country in order to protect the interests enumerated in the foregoing paragraph, the allied nation shall maintain strict neutrality and shall endeavor to prevent any other country from allying with the enemy of the ally.

"2.—If in the foregoing case another country shall join the enemy of the ally, the allied nation shall help the ally in war, and peace shall be made with the mutual consent of the allies.

"3.—The allied nations shall not enter into any agreement with another country, affecting the interest of the two countries in Korea, without mutual consent.

"4.—Should Great Britain or Japan at any time deem the interests mentioned in the foregoing jeopardized, then the two nations shall communicate the full particulars without concealing anything.

"The Marquis requested that the Japanese Government should most carefully study the draft and said that he thought it covered all I had said about Japanese interests in Korea. He continued: 'In the Cabinet Council at which this draft was discussed two or three members said that Japanese interests in Korea are very great, greater in proportion than British interests in the Yangtze Valley. Therefore, they felt the treaty to be one-sided and favoring Japan. For this reason they wanted its scope extended so as to bring Indian interest under it.' He requested me to consider this point.

"The foregoing draft treaty shows no material change from the substance of my conversations with Lord Lansdowne, but it only says that no foreign country shall absorb Korea. It does not say that Great Britain recognizes Japan's paramount interests in Korea and does not give assurance that Japan will not be interfered with by Great Britain in any action she may feel called on to take in protection of her interest in Korea. These points I felt must be made clear. If any such point being expressed in the treaty could embarrass Great Britain then there could be a secret treaty covering it. I telegraphed Tokio the draft and my opinions.

"On November 13, I received the following instructions: 'Regarding draft Government communicate decision soonest reasonably possibly; meanwhile go Paris meet Ito, communicate him telegrams exchanged; try get his support British draft wire result immediately.'

PRINCE ITO CONSULTED.

"Previous to this Marquis Ito had left Japan as the delegate of that country to the 220th anniversary of the foundation of Yale University and received there the degree of LL. D. Thence he had gone to Paris on his way to Russia and has just arrived in Paris when I got the above telegram.

With regard to Ito's journey I knew by private advices and by report that it was for the purpose of negotiating a Russo-Japanese Convention. But while the negotiations for an Anglo-Japanese Alliance were in progress it was quite out of the question to conclude a Russo-Japanese Convention and I had not believed that there was much in it. Anyhow I went to Paris as ordered, met Ito, reported to him, and after four days returned to London on August 19.

"The following is a summary of the conversations I had with Ito. He told me that before he left home he had seen Marquis Yamagata, Inouye and other Genro, the Premier, Prince Katsura, and the Foreign Minister *pro tem.*, Viscount Sone. In his opinion, it was unprofitable for Japan and Russia to continue to look at each other with 'cross eyes' with regard to Korea. It was urgent that a compromise should be effected. It was therefore decided that Ito should go from Yale to Russia with Mr. Tsutsuki as his diplomatic assistant.

"At the time of his departure the Government had not considered the negotiation with Great Britain seriously. It did not believe that such a thing was possible as an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The terms he was to negotiate on were: Russia to have a free hand in Manchuria and Japan in Korea and both to agree not to establish a naval base at Masampo. That was as much as it was dared to ask for. In Paris Mr. Tsutsuki told me that Mr. Kurino had accepted the Legation at St. Petersburg on condition that he could make a convention with Russia. Ito was much puzzled at my mission to him in Paris. He had no idea that the Anglo-Japanese negotiations had progressed so far. He was at a loss to know what to do. I was in the same fix. Here was I negotiating with Lord Lansdowne, getting out plenipotentiary powers from Tokio and yet they had sent Ito to negotiate a convention with Russia. If the statement with reference to Kurino was true the matter was the more outrageous.

"I thought it most inconsistent of my Government after it had telegraphed accepting my views on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. I therefore telegraphed to ask my Government to reflect on the affair. The answer came as follows: 'Government not changed policy; Kurino given no such mission—' The Marquis Ito was still more puzzled. He realized, however, that the negotiations with Great Britain had reached such a point that the Japanese Government could not withdraw, and after further discussion it was agreed that Ito should support in general principle the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, a point gained after much use of persuasive eloquence, and further that he should go to Russia, his visit there having been announced.

"I agreed not to deliver any answer to the British Government until I had heard from Ito in St. Petersburg. I felt it would be very risky to attempt Machiavellian tactics in such important matters as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance or the Russo-Japanese Convention, I telegraphed Ito from London as follows: 'So long as it is our policy to conclude a Russo-Japanese Convention we should adopt one of the following courses: firstly, conclude the Japanese treaty, then inform Great Britain we propose to negotiate with Russia, and then negotiate the convention; or so long as the Anglo-Japanese negotiations are in progress you shall not discuss a Russo-Japanese Convention with the Russians, unless the Russians first propose. In that case put them off as best you can.'

"Ito in his reply agreed to adopt the second plan. The day after I returned from Paris I met Lord Lansdowne, who asked for the answer of the Japanese Government. He said that there was grave danger in delay, as the news might leak out of the proposed treaty and obstacles be raised. He then asked about Ito's visit to Russia and expressed a wish for him to come to England, and was rather irritated that he had not done so. He said that if it was the idea of the Japanese Government to negotiate a convention or agreement with Russia, whilst the negotiations with Great Britain were in progress, the British Government would be enraged.

"I answered that an alliance being a new thing for Japan it was necessary to study the matter most closely. Hence a delay. As regards Ito I explained that his trip to Russia had no special meaning, and he could not come to London then because in November the climate was at its worst and fogs general. He, however, replied that Ito had crossed the Atlantic, avoided landing in England and gone to France. He had given out that he was travelling for his health. Why, therefore, did he go in the winter to St. Petersburg? He was evidently dissatisfied with my explanation.

After leaving Lord Lansdowne I met Mr. Bertie, the Under-Secretary, who was much more outspoken and came to the point immediately. He said that if the news of the Anglo-Japanese negotiations leaked out Russia might offer more advantageous terms, at first sight, but he warned me that the Russian terms would be repudiated afterwards without compunction. He said: 'I warn you to be very careful.'

The above is a direct translation of the supplement of Count Hayashi's reminiscences. What now follows is a summary of the remainder of the supplement.

Count Hayashi then tells of the attitude of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Komura, who telegraphed on November 30, the amendments proposed by the Japanese Government. These included the change of the words "Far East" to "Extreme East" and that China and Korea should be designated as the Chinese Empire and the Korean Empire. He also proposed that after the word "absorption" in the preamble the following should be inserted "or annexation" by another Power. He also wished a sentence put in giving Japan full freedom of action to protect her interests in Korea. The telegram

containing the amendments also stated that the draft treaty had been submitted to the Genro by the Emperor, who had also issued instructions that the opinion of Prince Ito should be taken. Count Hayashi was, therefore ordered to send a Secretary of Embassy, Mr. Matsui, to St. Petersburg carrying a copy of the telegram in cipher, to give the same to Prince Ito and bring back his opinion on the same.

Accordingly, on December 1, Mr. Matsui left for St. Petersburg, arriving there on December 23. From the reports sent by Matsui from Ito to Hayashi, the Russian authorities had received Ito extremely cordially. In accordance with the instructions received from the Japanese Government, Ito had broached the question of an arrangement between the two countries, on the very day after his arrival, when Count Witte, the Premier had called on him, Count Witte had said that it would be an excellent thing if a compromise could be arrived at. Ito had replied that a compromise was impossible unless Russia was prepared to concede something.

Witte asked what Japan wanted, to which Ito replied that Japan would be contented with nothing less than freedom of action in Korea, where her interests were enormous. Witte had agreed to this, providing that the Japanese Government would covenant not to annex Korea, to which Ito agreed. Subsequently Ito had been received by the Tsar, who had discussed the same question and said that the time had arrived when some sort of agreement between the two countries ought to be effected. He also discussed the matter with Count Lamsdorff the Russian Foreign Minister, who agreed to the proposal in regard to Korea, but said that Japan would also have to concede something to Russia. It was impossible to continue the discussions with Lamsdorff, in St. Petersburg, owing to the shortness of Ito's stay in the capital and it was arranged that further negotiations should be carried on in Berlin, whither Ito was to proceed on December 8. Matters were at this stage when Matsui arrived, and Ito was most sanguine of being able to carry through a Russo-Japanese Convention on the lines suggested and telegraphed to Tokio to that effect. After looking through the Japanese proposed amendments he asked Matsui: "Do you know Marquis Inouye's opinion on the matter?" When Matsui replied in the negative he showed him a telegram from Inouye advising him to examine the proposed Anglo-Japanese Alliance from the point of view of Russo-Japanese relations. Ito said he must have a little time to think over the matter and said that he would give Hayashi his opinion in Berlin, ordering him to follow him there one day later. On his arrival in Berlin he again saw Ito, who informed him that he strongly opposed not only the proposed amendments but also the original draft treaty.

He said: "The only parties interested in Korea are Russia and Japan. They are, therefore, the only parties, between whom an agreement ought to be made. There is no object in an Anglo-Japanese Treaty. What is the use of inviting Great Britain, which has no interests in Korea, to make a treaty about Korea? It is only giving Great Britain the same position in Korea as Japan, a position which she had not got before. If a third country should join the Alliance, then that country would also be obtaining interests in Korea, which she had not got before. Again it is highly improbable that Germany would join. Marquis Inouye is very doubtful about Germany joining the treaty.

"The Marquis also thinks that England wants to get rid of her troubles in the Far East and put them on our shoulders, otherwise why should she want to break her traditional policy now and make an alliance with us. The Japanese Government has been too hasty; they have allowed themselves to be pushed by Great Britain. They certainly ought not to have said in their amendment telegram that they agree to the proposed terms, after

these amendments have been made, and certainly they ought not to have informed the British Minister in Tokio of what they were telegraphing to you. It leaves no room for further amendments. As regards the negotiations with Russia, these appear most favorable. Count Witte agrees and Count Lamsdorff is only anxious, because he says that our proposals appeal rather like a Japanese protectorate over Korea. There is reasonable ground to hope for a good Russo-Japanese Convention. Why, therefore, do we want to hurry over this Anglo-Japanese Alliance? I have telegraphed full details of all this to Tokio and wonder that your views were discussed in the Council before the Throne at Tokio on December 7."

When Hayashi got Matsui's report he was flabbergasted. He says: "I was quite unable to understand the position the Marquis took up. He was Minister President when the subject was broached. He had agreed in Paris to support the alliance and the Japanese Government had given me definite instructions to go ahead." He, therefore, telegraphed to Tokio, outlining Ito's attitude. On December 10, he received the following telegram from Komura: "Instructions sent you regarding amendments was issued Council Genro Cabinet others Emperor sanctioning Ito's views then discussed go ahead your work."

"I telegraphed the contents of this message to Ito and he at once telegraphed to Katsura to keep the object of his mission to St. Petersburg quite secret as otherwise bad feeling might be created."

The remainder of the diary is taken up with the details of the negotiations, following the presentation of the Japanese Government's amendments. With regard to the proposal to extend the scope of the alliance to cover India the Japanese Government refused to agree on the ground that as the purport of the treaty was to protect mutual interests in China and Korea, the inclusion of India would be out of place. "A rather feeble excuse, I thought," notes Hayashi. It was, however, arranged by an exchange of notes that in case of necessity India could be included in the scope of the agreement by mutual consent and under certain conditions arising.

As regards Germany, it had been the intention of Lord Lansdowne to invite her to join the treaty, but afterwards he expressed the view that Germany's interests in the Far East were not sufficiently great to make it probable that she would join. Finally, a day or two before the treaty was to be signed, he told Hayashi that he could telegraph Komura to show the treaty to the German Minister in Tokio and he would show it to the German Ambassador in London. However, that very night, very late, Lord Lansdowne changed his mind and sent a messenger round to the Japanese Legation to ask Hayashi to telegraph countermmanding the instructions. Hayashi telegraphed, but the message arrived in Tokio too late, Komura having already shown the treaty. Lord Lansdowne therefore showed the treaty to the German Ambassador.

When it came to the question of whether Germany would join, Count von Buelow refused. Hayashi concludes on this point that there is no reason to believe that Germany was slighted by either Great Britain or Japan.

Commenting on the Russian attitude on the publication of the treaty, Hayashi writes that Count Lamsdorff was flabbergasted on seeing it and especially on reading the word "war" for he never believed that a war in the Far East was in the bounds of possibility.

Count Hayashi is very bitter in his comments on his own Government, especially with regard to Ito's mission to St. Petersburg. He reiterates his protest against that mission, being sent during the Anglo-Japanese negotiations. He says: "I was very badly used indeed in that matter. Besides, such a lack of faith and breach of honor have put Japan in a bad predicament. Japan has

won Great Britain's support, but lost the respect of Russia and other European countries."

In connection with the Council before the throne on December 7, when the Japanese authorities finally decided on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and refused Ito's plans for a Russo-Japanese Convention, Reuter's Tokio Correspondent recently heard the authentic account of that Council from a very high authority. His informant said, "Ito in Europe and Inouye in Tokio, had been working very hard for a Russo-Japanese agreement. Ito was dispatching furious telegrams daily to the Government and to Inouye on the matter. Finally a Council before the throne was to be held to decide the question. The Cabinet was all in favor of supporting Hayashi in London and indeed so strong was the sentiment that both Katsura and Komura informed their colleagues that in the event of the Emperor deciding against them and in favor of Ito they would resign. At the Council, reports were submitted to His Majesty with regard to the Anglo-Japanese negotiations, and then with regard to Ito's negotiations in Russia. After hearing them and studying them His Majesty turned to a Secretary and said: "Go to the Imperial Cabinet and get Marquis Ito's report on a proposed Anglo-Japanese Alliance, when he was Prime Minister." When the report was brought the Emperor looked through it and then turning to the Council said: "In this report of Marquis Ito, when Prime Minister, he most strongly advises that an alliance be made with Great Britain, and nothing has happened in the last few months to change the situation." His Majesty then ordered Komura to instruct Hayashi to go ahead and at the same time to telegraph to Ito to stop all negotiations with Russia. The Cabinet were really against Ito's proposals from the beginning, but were willing to use him as a lever on Great Britain to hasten the negotiations, besides which Ito and Inouye were far too powerful to be stopped from their attitude by anything less than an Imperial command.

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